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Nazarkin Insists on Adherence to ABM Treaty
AU2307150489 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation to the Geneva negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons, has made it clear that Moscow is willing to consent to halving the number of strategic offensive weapons only if the ABM Treaty of 1972 is adhered to. It prohibits the development of antiballistic missile systems and excludes the deployment of antiballistic missiles in space, Nasarkin stated on Suedwestfunk today. Thus, he contradicted Burt, U.S. chief negotiator in Geneva, who wants to safeguard the U.S. option to develop and deploy a strategic missile defense system in the agreement sought on halving strategic nuclear weapons.

New U.S. Book Urges Support for ABM Treaty
LD2007141789 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Text] Washington July 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

As long as there are nuclear strategic armaments, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty should be observed and strengthened—this is the main conclusion of a voluminous collective work by prominent American arms control experts, which has just been released here.

Unveiling the book "Defending Deterrence. Managing the ABM Treaty Regime into the 21st Century" at a news conference on Wednesday [19 July], Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, described it as a source of a number of useful ideas for considering the prospects of the ABM Treaty, taking into account permanent developments in the areas of technology, politics and diplomacy.

The book, edited by Antonia Handler Chayes, former under secretary of the Air Force, and professor Paul Doty of Harvard University, was written by a group including Ralf Earle, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief negotiator of the SALT-II Treaty, John Rhinelander, participant in the ABM Treaty negotiations, and John Toomay, member of the Air Force Advisory Board.

Chayes told TASS that during the work on the book she and some other authors discussed the whole range of issues, covered by the book, with Soviet scientists and experts, including Academician Roald Sagdeyev and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences Andrey Kokoshin.

Those conversations, she said, had helped them in their work.

The book points to the positive development of Soviet-American relations in the past few years, saying that new channels have opened up for dialogue between the two countries.

Between 1985 and 1988 alone, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States met three times to discuss a wide range of security issues, it went on. The sides concluded the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty and are going ahead with talks on strategic arms reductions.

Emphasising the great importance of the ABM Treaty, which bans deployment of a wide anti-missile defence system, for preventing a surprise attack and for stability in bilateral relations, the authors say that its preservation, observance and strengthening is an important condition for coming to agreement on cuts in strategic nuclear weapons.

The book recalls that the U.S. Congress had rejected the Reagan administration's attempts to legislatively seal the so-called "wide interpretation" of the ABM Treaty to open the way for the accelerated development and deployment of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) system.

At the same time, work on this system, if it goes beyond the limits determined by the ABM Treaty, will undermine it, the book notes.

The authors think that scientists and politicians should immediately start managing the ABM Treaty regime into the future, proceeding from the rapid development of technology and from the fact that the treaty's efficiency meets the interests of both sides.

Specifically, they recommend working out such joint Soviet-American measures as specification of differences between anti-missile defence radars, early-warning radars and large phased-array radars intended for tracing objects in outer space, confirming that the ABM Treaty bans testing of any weapon, "traditional" or "exotic", in near-earth orbit, banning orbiting nuclear reactors, and working out measures to extend control and build confidence using the experience of the INF Treaty.

Karpov on Sea-Based Nuclear Weapon Verification
LD2107113389 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 0930 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov writes in an article in DAGENS NYHETER today that U.S.-Soviet experiments in the Black Sea have shown that it is possible to establish at a distance whether a vessel is carrying nuclear weapons. Karpov writes that this makes it possible to reduce the number of sea- based nuclear weapons. Earlier the United States has not wanted to agree to this because reliable verification methods were lacking. The Soviet minister also stresses that the nuclear powers must now declare openly whether there are nuclear weapons on board warships visiting foreign ports.

NATO's Galvin Optimistic on CFE Agreement

PM1707124389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Interview With Galvin"]

[Text] London, 13 Jul—Substantial progress has been made at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe. U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, expressed this opinion during an interview with Britain's THE TIMES.

Indicating the great probability that an agreement will be reached in this sphere between the two blocs, he announced that NATO experts are already examining the options for a new package of measures on conventional arms reductions. He stressed that "he applauds the achievements of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev" and that the new dialogue between the Eastern and Western military leadership "is of a positive character and inspires hope." At the same time the general affirmed that, in the light of the problems that the USSR is experiencing, he deems it important to "keep the powder dry."

Speaking about possible major reductions in conventional arms on the continent, particularly tanks, where, according to the general, the Warsaw Pact has the edge, J. Galvin said that "such an event would change the whole picture and our entire approach to relations with the Soviet Union."

Academician on 'Sufficiency of Nuclear Capability'

PM1807123089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 28, 9 Jul 89 p 7

[Academician Nikita Moiseyev article: "Both Calculation and Common Sense"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] What does one of the Soviet scientists who work on mathematical models of the possible consequences of a nuclear war think constitutes "sufficiency of nuclear capability" in a nuclear world?

My attention was attracted by two articles in MN [Moscow News] devoted to this question. I think that nothing helps encourage new thinking more than discussing the burning issues of our time. Included among them is, above all, the problem of an adequate defence, which was beyond public discussion until recently.

R. Bogdanov and A. Kortunov, authors of the first article ("Minimum Deterrent': Utopia or a Real Prospect?", MN No. 23), discuss the possibility of limiting the number of warheads to only 500. They provide a number of arguments which should convince the reader that this number of nuclear warheads is adequate. The opponents to this point of view—V. Dvorkin and V. Torbin in their article "On real sufficiency of defence" (MN, No. 26) say, as I see it, quite correctly, that the arguments cited are groundless. Being representatives of the armed forces they see the problem more clearly. But, at the same time, their standards of analysis, as with those of their US colleagues, do not take account of the reality which has already become the norm today on our globe. The questions of defence sufficiency cannot be solved when divorced from ecological, economic or social problems, and the possibility for seeking effective, mutual compromises based on the likely aftermath of nuclear (and non-nuclear) strikes. I'd like to voice several idea, based on the research which a small group of my colleagues and I conducted over the last six-seven years at the Computer Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The research was done with the aid of so-called abstract models. In them, the situations and their analysis didn't use concrete data on the capacities of nuclear weapons except what was published in the broad press. Such an approach doesn't allow accurate numerical appraisals but does provide the opportunity to see the general trends which may be hidden behind the forest of details.

In 1983, using a climatic model (V. Aleksandrov) and a number of scenarios for a possible large-scale nuclear war (magazine AMBIO, Carl Sagan and others); the researchers showed that a nuclear war would lead to a nuclear winter and a nuclear night, as the result of which mankind would perish completely, or its remnants would be doomed to a more or less quick extinction.

The question of the consequences of delivering a strike with a small number of nuclear warheads of relatively small power was not clear for a long time. Academician G. Flerov drew my attention to scenarios of a nuclear strike against our country that the Americans had developed at the end of the 40s when the USSR had no nuclear weapons as yet, and recommended that we assess the possible consequences.

A. Molchanov and V. Parkhomenko did calculations which showed that these US scenarios did not lead to a nuclear night. But due to the specifics of atmospheric circulation, radioactive fallout and dust would start falling throughout the northern hemisphere. The wave would reach the USA in 20-30 days. The amount of radioactive iodine and strontium fallout would have been as great as 20 to 60 Chernobyls.

It is clear that the problem of "defence sufficiency" does not fit the standards of thinking which the military or diplomats usually use. Still, nuclear weapons will not be liquidated in the near future. There are a lot of reasons (and not only military ones) for this. This means that we must set up mechanisms (institutes of accord) which would make it possible for us to find effective ways to avoid conflict and to find mutually beneficial compromises.

In 1985 I published a model of the nuclear arms race. I said that the opposing sides, leaving aside the desire for economic prosperity and the demands of the military-industrial complex, are also interested in the reduction of the risk of a nuclear war. This is necessary because without that there can be no talk of any compromise.

The analysis showed that in this situation a certain level of nuclear weapons does exist which is a compromise and is beneficial for both sides. But, alas, it is not a zero level!

A natural question arose—what is necessary to make the mutually beneficial level of nuclear capability zero? It turns out that to do this, it is enough to expand the sides' strategies, including in the expenditures also spendings on the system of collective security (for example, within the UN framework). It is enough, let's say, to set up a space information system which would sharply reduce the effectiveness of offensive weapons. There is a certain level of effectiveness under which a compromise decision would lead to an absolute zero in nuclear weapons.

Speaking of conflicts, we cannot limit ourselves to nuclear conflicts alone. Non-nuclear weapons today also have great destructive power. On top of that, the whole of Europe and the USA are full of nuclear power stations of which we are all hostages.

The consequences of a "conventional" war are hard to assess. The scenarios are extremely varied—would a bomb raid on the stations cause a nuclear explosion or just an emission of radioactive particles as was the case in Chernobyl. But one thing is clear—the consequences will be catastrophic.

The question of "sufficiency of nuclear capability" is very complicated. It cannot be solved either through the idea of "unacceptable damage", or using military thinking. What is especially important is that the ultimate answer will demand the consensus of nuclear powers. Its solution will be the result of a long and tough road, and the joint work of many different specialists. It will be not so much military as civilian experts—mathematicians, economists, ecologists—people capable of overcoming the usual stereotypes of thinking.

This work must be the joint work—by us and by our "enemies", who, due to circumstances, must become partners. Because, after all, we're speaking of life—of the Life of Man on Earth! It's high time for us to realize this! Because this is the basis of the new thinking.

Chemical Battalion Leaves Poland

PM1907162589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain L. Beshkarev report: "Chemical Servicemen Have Left Poland"]

[Text] A separate chemical protection battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel S. Sapelnikov has left the territory of Poland in accordance with the Soviet Government decision to reduce the strength of Soviet troops in allied countries and by agreement with the Polish Government.

A Polish-Soviet friendship rally was held before the departure home. It was attended by representatives of the Polish public and Polish Army servicemen. In a warm and cordial atmosphere the unit's servicemen took their leave of hospitable Poland, where they have been conscientiously fulfilling their international duty, safeguarding socialism's gains and the fraternal people's peaceful labor. Many heartfelt words and wishes were addressed to the Soviet servicemen at the rally.

Chemical Weapons Experts Visit Canadian Center

LD2007020689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2102 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Ottawa, 20 July—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev reports:

A group of Soviet chemical weapons experts completed on Wednesday [19 July] a visit to the Suffield experimental center which is located in the Canadian province of Alberta. [passage omitted]

General R.F. Batsanov, leader of the group of Soviet experts, told his Canadian colleagues and journalists that the USSR and United States have come even closer to concluding an agreement on chemical weapons, although not all the problems have yet been solved. In particular, he said, the American side has still not finished studying the proposal of the Soviet Union on a procedure for conducting on-site inspections. "It is very important," said Batsanov, "for chemical weapons—those horrific means of mass destruction—to be eliminated. Everyone in the world will live more calmly when there are none of those weapons left".

The visit to the Suffield center was conducted following an invitation which was sent to the USSR Government at the beginning of this year by Henry Perrin Beatty, who at that time occupied the post of Canada's minister of national defense.

EEC, USSR To Open Trade, Nuclear Power Talks

AU1807155389 Paris AFP in English 1524 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Brussels, July 18 (AFP)—The European Economic Community and the Soviet Union were due on Wednesday to start talks on a 10-year trade and cooperation pact, which is likely for the first time ever to lead to joint work with an East Bloc country on nuclear power research, EEC officials said here Tuesday.

Delegates are to have an initial round of talks on Wednesday, and another on Thursday [19-20 July]. But an EEC spokesman could not say when the talks were likely to finish.

The EEC already has trade and cooperation agreements with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and is due to negotiate a similar accord, only more ambitious, with debt-stricken Poland by the end of this month.

An EEC Commission spokesman said the planned Soviet agreement would include cooperation on nuclear power and the safety of nuclear plants. It would be the first time that such agreements were made between the Community and an East Bloc state, he said.

The Commission is expected to seek easier access to Soviet markets for EEC companies, in exchange for the lifting of certain restrictions on Soviet exports to EEC states.

Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev Briefs Press 24 Jul

Comments on USSR-EC Talks

LD2407134189 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—A wide-ranging agreement on trade and cooperation between the USSR and the European Communities should help create favourable conditions for broader and closer bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and EC countries along with opening a multilateral avenue of cooperation, which offers new possibilities, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

He was commenting at a news briefing on the first round of USSR- EC talks on such an agreement, which took place in Brussels on July 19 and 20.

The delegations from the USSR and the EC compared their approaches to the projected agreement and, aided also by several previous informal consultations, were able to identify much in common in their official positions on the scope, structure and subjects of the agreement, Perfilyev said.

He added that the EC agreed to a wide-ranging agreement, as proposed by the USSR, which would cover not only trade and commercial cooperation, but also cooperative arrangements in industry and investments, science and engineering, the power industry, transport, agriculture, environmental protection and finances.

During the next round of talks, which is expected in October, the sides will begin hammering out the text of the agreement, the spokesman said.

Wary of Pakistani Nuclear Arms

LD2407134589 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The Soviet Union repeatedly expressed a serious concern over press reports on Pakistan's nuclear preparations, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today. He said that anxiety was also expressed due to U.S. deliveries of nuclear-capable F-16 jets to Pakistan. This anxiety is growing because of the latest West German media reports on work conducted in Pakistan to prepare the above F-16 fighter bombers for arming with Pakistani-made nuclear weapons.

Such developments would substantially aggravate the political and strategic situation in South Asia and harm principles and regime of nuclear non-proliferation, the Soviet spokesman pointed out. Islamabad is no party to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. At the same time the Soviet Union pays most serious attention to assurances by Benazir Bhutto that Pakistan does not possess and does not intend to develop nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that Pakistan's actions will be in line with statements made by its prime minister during official visits to the United States and Britain. It is self-evident that under the conditions of the ongoing process of reduction in nuclear arsenals and real nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation in the world is gaining special political and practical importance.

Says Talks To Target Afghanistan

LD2407133189 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The forthcoming regular Soviet- American consultations on Afghanistan, which will be held at expert level in Stockholm at the end of July and the beginning of August, will be devoted to an Afghan settlement rather than other issues, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev confirmed today.

He made the comment at a briefing in a rebuttal of claims by U.S. State Department Spokesman Richard Boucher that the consultations would also deal with problems connected with Iran.

The official agenda has already been agreed with the Americans, Perfilyev explained, adding that the Soviet delegation is not going to raise the issue of Iran because there is no such problem in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Comments on Hungarian Officials' Visit

LD2407131989 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The forthcoming Soviet-Hungarian summit talks will continue the series of political contacts which have lately been very frequent, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing here today.

He made his comments as Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the party's general secretary, Karoly Grosz, begin a working visit to the USSR later in the day at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Dialogue between the leaders of the two parties has always been comradely and frank, with each side showing an interest in the other's successes, said Perfilyev, who is first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

There is every reason to believe that the forthcoming meeting will be substantive as well, giving an extra impulse to bilateral relations and evoking a favourable international response, he said.

Baltic Naval Maneuvers Elicit Public Protest

PM2007150789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Captain Second Rank E. Voloshchenko report under the rubric "Militarist Rehearsals": " 'American-Baltic Operation-89'"]

[Text] The recent exercise of the NATO Combined Naval Forces "American-Baltic Operation-89" was devoted to rehearsing the practical use of naval forces in accordance with the "forward defense" concept. Plans to reinforce the NATO Combined Naval Forces in the Baltic straits zone with a U.S. missile strike group were verified in the process of the exercise. At the same time a whole package of tasks was being resolved: inflicting missile, torpedo, and bombing and surface attack strikes on ship groupings in the Baltic, defending the Baltic straits zone from an easterly direction, and opening up the theater of military operations with U.S. ships.

A sum total of approximately 20 surface ships and also up to 80 FRG, Danish, and U.S. tactical and base patrol aircraft participated in the "American-Baltic Operation-89" exercise. The U.S. Navy was represented by the battleship "Iowa," the guided missile cruiser "Ticonderoga," and the guided missile frigate "Fahrion."

In the estimation of the commander of the NATO Combined Naval Forces in the Baltic straits zone, who was in overall charge, the maneuvers passed off successfully. But as regards public sentiments, the views here are different. This is borne out by numerous protests from those who live in the Baltic and demand its transformation into a region of peace. Year by year these demands are heard increasingly loudly, and NATO strategists have to take this into account. For example, mindful of the new situation, the bloc's leadership was forced to reduce the number of participating ships in comparison with previous years.

Well, this is not a bad symptom.

'Observers Roundtable' on Polish Elections, G-7

LD2307183389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 23 Jul 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Aleksandr Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Prof Radomir Bogdanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; Viktor Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] Hello, esteemed comrades. I think my colleagues on the program today will agree that it is entirely appropriate to begin with the results of the presidential election in the Polish People's Republic, since they are of very substantial significance not just for Poland but for other countries too. And I would also say that they are very instructive.

[Bovin] Dramatic, I would say—like a circus act without a safety net. It was an act without a safety net, because it was not for nothing that the general refused....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, his consent was received literally 1 day before the election began. But I would like to return for a moment to the problem itself and remind our listeners of what made the situation, as Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich said, so dramatic, and why it was without a safety net. Well, in the first place, the situation that developed in Poland was a very curious one. The ruling party had suffered heavy losses in the elections and, in effect, lost its majority. It only has a majority in coalition with the three other forces, and it is only a majority by agreement.

[Levin] By agreement.

[Bogdanov] By agreement. In the second place, I would like to draw listeners' attention to the fact that under the new Constitution the Polish president has enormous power. He has the right to appoint the prime minister. He has the right to sign all decrees and all decisions of the Sejm and to dissolve....

[Bovin, interrupting] It is a presidential republic.

[Bogdanov]...dissolve...quite right, it is a presidential republic. Therefore, in a situation where the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] had suffered heavy losses, of course the issue of power—real power—was very acute, especially with an opposition whose positions—particularly in foreign policy—were not entirely clear and have still not been entirely clarified. Therefore, the figure of Jaruzelski as such, apart from the fact that he is, of course, a politician of the greatest stature, to whom Poland—whatever may be said—owes a great deal: He saved the country from civil war, saved it from disaster....

[Bovin, interrupting] Military rule...[words indistinct].

[Bogdanov] Quite right. But history will probably give him his due. Therefore, the figure of Jaruzelski is the personification of—as it seems to me—the whole problem of stability; if you like, even of stability on the European scale.

[Bovin] If that had been seriously understood, he would have gained perhaps 272 votes. So it was a very finely balanced thing, even from the point of view of the Poles themselves, and from the point of view of Solidarity, because the assessments varied. One of them was: the president for you, the prime minister for us—the well-known position of Michnik, but not shared by Solidarity. Last week, for example, I was talking here with someone from Solidarity, in Moscow, and he categorically rejected him; he did not want Jaruzelski to be elected. There too, there were, by the way, all sorts of undercurrents and rocks and reefs and what have you. A very complicated situation.

[Levin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, probably, probably this is also a problem for future analysis: how the situation developed, how the political machinery operated....

[Bovin, interrupting] Of course, of course.

[Bogdanov] But I think today, while the events are still fresh—and Poland got its president late on the night of 19 July, when the count was completed...[Bogdanov changes thought] Incidentally, it was a very interesting vote: an open, named ballot in which each ballot was signed and you could analyze who voted for whom. But it seems to me—and here I am fully in agreement with our chairman—that this was indeed a major event, and if you like, a certain chapter has been closed and a new one opened in the political life of the great and important country that is Poland.

[Bovin] I'd put it this way: I agree that a page has been closed, but I'd say the new one has been half-opened.

[Levin] I want to return and say just a little about the actual results of the vote. I have in front of me a report which gives unofficial figures on how the votes were distributed. And the upshot is that, according to this report, which I stress is unofficial, one PZPR delegate voted against Jaruzelski and one was absent. Of the United Peasant Party, six voted for and 54 against—I'll disregard for the moment those who abstained or were absent—and of the Democratic Party, four against. I'm drawing attention to this because it's a coalition party.

[Bovin] By definition, they all should have voted, there's that nuance to it.

[Levin] Certainly, that's what I'm saying. Of Solidarity, 222 against, 1 for, 18 abstentions, and 7 invalid voting papers. It was an open ballot, but one where a written record was kept. And the view is now being expressed that it was not so much the one Solidarity vote in favor but rather the 18 abstentions that determined the result. And that 270th vote, the one that decided the results, was cast by the only independent senator who voted for Jaruzelski. And it's this, you know, that underlines the dramatism you were talking about, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich—although we all know that in the first stage, when he withdrew his candidature, Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed Czeslaw Kiszczak to take his place. I think that if another PZPR candidate had stood for election he would hardly have won even this negligible majority.

[Bovin] I'm quite sure he wouldn't have. Of course he wouldn't have got in.

[Levin] And that shows just how complex the Polish situation is. I think it ought to be instructive for us, too. The fact is that the PZPR, in the eyes of very broad sections of the Polish public, is today associated not so much with the achievements that have been a feature of Poland's postwar history—and they've been undeniable—but above all with the mistakes that have been made. And whether you like it or not, you've got to admit that the party does bear responsibility for them. That responsibility left its mark on the election result. If we bear in mind that in 4 years' time the elections to the National Assembly and Senate are due to be held, this time without any handicap for the government coalition—in other words with free play of all the political forces—then the PZPR faces the enormous task of re-establishing its prestige from the beginning. I think this has to be particularly taken into account in light of the events that have taken place this week in our own country. Again, let us face the truth fairly and squarely. What happened in the Kuzbass, the Donbass, and the other coal-mining regions, is similar to certain events in Poland in 1980. It took various forms in Poland at that time, and we won't extrapolate everything to our own country now. It's quite a complex situation, and probably not a hopeless one; here there always are some very serious specific elements, but the actual conflict arose because the party had not kept up with the social development of Poland in 1980. Later, when the party had taken upon itself the mission of reform, when, in our terminology, it had set its course toward restructuring, that restructuring went in to a skid somewhere in the middle and lower organs of power.

[Bovin] Well, in a general way, that's not unlike our own situation: In our country too, it is getting bogged down at the middle and lower levels—and not only there, by the way. But it is very desirable that this signal that is being given to us all, including our leadership, by the miners of the Kuzbass, Donbass, and other regions should be heard and rightly understood. That's what one would like to see. I wouldn't go any further than that in seeking an analogy, as it were.

[Levin] Let's get back to the election and name one other person who didn't participate directly in electing the president, but whose voice must probably have carried considerable weight. Actually, there are two that one ought to mention. [passage indistinct]. But the man I have in mind at the moment is U.S. President Bush.

[Bovin] Yes, of course. Certainly he rendered every homage to the general. He spoke very favorably of him, and that must have influenced the Poles in some respects.

[Bogdanov] But, esteemed colleagues, allow me to remind you now of something else. It's a remarkable combination of circumstances. On the one hand, President Bush's visit to Poland, and on the other, General Jaruzelski's trip to the session of the Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact, whereby General Jaruzelski demonstrated, both to his own Poles and to the whole world, that he is a major, real statesman, respected in both East and West.

[Bovin] And then, too, he attended the Political Consultative Committee with General Kiszczak, so there again there was a sort of extra [words indistinct]; an inspction of the prospective bride, just in case—a bride show.

[Bogdanov] I think that was very tactful of the general and showed great respect, as it were, for the man he himself proposed—for it was Jaruzelski and no one else who proposed him—as his replacement. In my opinion this was...[Bogdanov changes thought] I'd like to remind you of what Mikhail Sergeyevich said—you remember he was asked, I think it was at his last press conference in Paris—how he felt about Jaruzelski's declining to stand for president. I just want to remind you. He said: I have a great respect for him; he is a very considerate, very honest, and decent person.

Incidentally, you can talk to many Poles, including those belonging to Solidarity. They differ politically on a lot of things with General Jaruselski, but not one of them denies precisely these two of his qualities: honesty and decency.

[Bovin] Let us return, however, to Bush. Walesa is in Poland all the time, but Bush came for a couple of days and of course this played its part in the whole Polish process. Although in general, of course, the Poles were a little offended and, after all, Poland's financial affairs are in a bad state. When Bush, in all the munificence of enormous, powerful America, forked out one hundred million dollars for them, there did, of course, arise a certain shade of disappointment. According to the Polish newspapers he was simply told off in no uncertain terms. And over 25 million to Hungary.

Incidentally, I am afraid that the U.S. Congress may deny even that. Here one might say that politics is one thing and money another.

[Bogdanov] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, do you know what figure Walesa said Poland needs?

[Bovin] Ten billion he said—yes, of course.

[Bogdanov] I think this is interesting for our listeners to learn, one hundred times less.

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, of course. And they got one hundred times less. Bush gave them 100 times less. That's it, shall we say. Although....

[Levin interrupting] At the same time Bush emphasized....

[Bovin interrupting] Work yourselves, yes?

[Bogdanov] That's right.

[Levin] That's correct.

[Bovin] Yes, it is. Quite correct. But those who ask for credits also know this, but for some reason they ask for money. But, of course....

[Levin, interrupting] Everyone needs money.

[Bovin] Of course; Hungary and Poland were a very interesting episode in Bush's political career, but in the West it was presented as a game of chess between Gorbachev and Bush. Gorbachev's move was Bonn and Paris, and Bush's was Warsaw and Budapest. Despite all the ingenuousness of framing the issue like this it is not naive. We often say that we should deideologize international relations, and the Americans are also saying this.

Well, let us look at it realistically. For Bush, the trip to Hungary and Poland was purely ideological foreign policy and not policy of state interest, because both Poland and Hungary (?do not serve) U.S. state interests. Excuse me, this is not China, not the Soviet Union, not even Brazil. It is precisely an ideological approach. Don't be naive again. After all, they consider that Hungary and Poland are departing from socialism and converging with capitalism; that is, they are moving over to western values and away from the Soviet Union. Here it is. A version of overcoming the division of Europe, as it is seen by this same Bush. On the other hand he is a tactful person. He does not want to offend Gorbachev. He talked about that. This is the essence of the business, which is described in the U.S. newspapers by commentators and journalists. But, of course, they expound all this more tactfully, that is to say.....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I would like to slightly disagree with you....

[Bovin, interrupting] That is very good.

[Bogdanov]...and nevertheless say for U.S. foreign policy and for U.S. global strategy in general—and you will, I presume, agree that there is such a thing....

[Bovin, interrupting] Without question.

[Bogdanov] Perhaps you are right in the sense that Poland, taken separately, and Hungary, taken separately, are not so very important for U.S. global strategy. But Poland and Hungary have turned into key positions, key countries of what is called Eastern Europe. And I imagine that what is happening in these countries will to a large extent determine the fate...what will happen. And this...yes.

[Bovin] If you see this evolution from a certain standpoint.

[Bogdanov] Of course. But I want to remind you that when Bush was vice president under Reagan visited Eastern Europe....

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes.

[Bogdanov]...and you will remember his "famous," in quotation marks, Vienna speech, only some 4 or 5 years ago, before his visit to Budapest. In this speech he directly said—I am not afraid of calling it inflammatory because it really was—where he said that there cannot be anything cultural or civilized in common between these countries and the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union is a barbaric country which has given nothing to these countries, and so on. I do not want to repeat it.

But if you compare what Bush said while Reagan's vice president and the U.S. foreign policy line that Bush has now been taking, then you will probably discover, well, I would even say statesmanlike reason and a statesmanlike approach. I will allow myself the liberty of asking you a direct question: What was it? A destabilizing visit or was it a state visit which in general was a normal state visit, just as to any other country....

[Bovin, interrupting] No....

[Bogdanov] Thus, I think, we must ask this question.

[Bovin] Yes, of course. But you know there are things lying behind these general definitions; what Bush was thinking at the time is of no little importance. You recalled his speech in Vienna; the question of when Bush was talking the truth as he sees it, then or now, would be an interesting question, perhaps for the next roundtable. Or the other approach is to say that he has changed considerably over the period. This is also a valid approach. But it is interesting, because from the point of view of any end results intentions may not be important, but in essence they are very important. And when we talk about what is destabilizing whom, we ought to take intentions into account as well, even though they are fluid, changeable, and unsteady, as you can understand. But if Bush were certain that what is now happening in Poland and Hungary is an intense renewal and reinforcement of socialism, then probably...[words indistinct].

[Bogdanov] But this is a very pointed debate—what nowadays are the contemporary...the parameters of contemporary socialism?

[Bovin, interrupting] Well yes, clearly.

[Bogdanov] But then we would be going off on a tangent, so we will just leave the issue on the table, on the table.

[Bovin, interrupting] Well, let us move on to Paris then. He went to Paris after all.

[Bogdanov] Yes.

[Levin] Afterwards....

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, afterward....

[Levin] ...and incidentally, Paris was directly linked—we mean the meeting of the Big Seven [Group of Seven—G-7] here—with Bush's trips to Poland and Hungary. After all, in effect he did not hand over much money in Warsaw and Budapest, but he did promise to discuss the question of economic aid to both Poland and Hungary with the other highly developed Western states at the Big Seven conference, and he kept his promise. It was one of the central issues at the Big Seven conference.

[Bovin] Yes, and in fact it was officially called an economic conference. If we work out the ratio between economics and politics since 1975, there has been a gradual and constant change in favor of politics, and this latest meeting was (?probably) 90 percent politics and only 10 percent economics.

[Bogdanov] You know, our listeners would probably be interested in the following brief historical digression: Why was it that the institution of economic conferences arose in 1975? After all, for several postwar decades the United States had no need of any conferences; it determined the economics of the capitalist world and told everyone what to do and how to it. The reason was that the United States accounted for more than 50 percent of world production in the capitalist countries and more than half of the gold reserves of the whole capitalist world; I think 68 percent if I am not mistaken was in the United States. But in 1975 there appeared this long process of change in the correlation of forces, when the United States began to need partners.

[Levin] I want to draw attention....

[Bovin, interrupting] You simply talk about this an an Americanist angle, and quite right. But you have forgotten that this is a crisis, the first postwar crisis, which....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Oil crisis.

[Bovin] It is called the oil crisis, on the surface, the oil crisis. It was a crisis of capitalist adjustment. And it was Giscard d'Estaing who initiated this meeting. It was Giscard d'Estaing. He said that we are on the eve of a catastrophe. Everything was in a panic. Now these newspapers are recalling what they wrote. There was panic, chaos, catastrophe. These words were on the surface. And then Giscard said: Let us save ourselves together. That was the idea.

[Bogdanov] Well,—despite, so to speak, my whole Americanist view of everything, which I do not deny—what I would like to draw attention to is this: At this conference Bush did indeed ask a whole range of question connected with the possible aid of the seven to these countries. My question to you, esteemed colleagues, is: What in fact did it end in? Who took on what obligations? I want to stress that the Americans....

[Levin] Who is behind the convocation? [word indistinct] is behind the convocation. This is....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Also very interesting is that....

[Bovin, interrupting] This is interesting. If formerly, the Americans said that it was necessary to do this and this, then today they are merely petitioners, if you like, setting out issues and problems. But how this problem will be solved, that is already a monopoly....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] European affairs must be decided by Europe itself.

[Levin] Europe itself.

[Bovin] Quite true.

[Bogdanov] That is the tremendously interesting result of the conference of the seven: the transfer of the whole problem to the EEC. Incidentally, this is evidence of the political and economic force which the EEC represents. I am even beginning to get the feeling....

[Bovin, interrupting] In fact it is not the seven, but rather even the eight; there are seven plus....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Quite right. I am even forming the impression that the European Community may be beginning to exist in parallel, as it were, and that it may already have turned into an independent force which is economically equal in significance or is at least approximating to its weight. When that famous new common market is set up in 1991, it will probably already be an economic fait accompli, a force equal to the United States and in some respects even superior to it.

[Bovin] Political integration is taking place. I have no doubt that it is taking place. It will take place despite all movements toward a reversal and all the cries about sovereignty; all this will happen, but political integration is taking place. And let military intergration become stronger, too, only not through the Common Market, but through the West European Alliance. Here the question arises of the extent to which this is within the framework of the common European home, or whether it may somehow interfere with this. That is no simple question, either.

[Levin] Nonetheless, I would now like to come back to the role of the EEC at the conference of the seven and to take into account that a very interesting event took place this week. An agreement was signed on cooperation between the EEC and the Soviet Union. This agreement is an economic one. It envisages a relaxation of the conditions on the mutual exchange of commodities; not just this, however, but also cooperation in the spheres of environmental protection, technology, and scientific research. Observers have drawn attention to the truly interesting fact that we are about to develop cooperation with the EEC in the sphere of nuclear technology, and nuclear power engineering.

[Bovin] That is all true. There is a complex situation here, concerning our partners in CEMA. Is everyone to move together, or do CEMA and the EEC represent one line of contact—and clearly a very important one—although CEMA is of course not ready to make real contact with the Common Market. Since CEMA is not ready for this, however, then individual matters, so to speak, arise. We are making contact, and so is Hungary.

[Levin] The Hungarians and Czechs have already concluded such agreements, and the Poles will soon do so.

[Bovin] Yes, yes, so you see there are all sorts of....

[Levin, interrupting] There are questions here.

[Bovin] There are all sorts of questions here, all sorts of minuses and pitfalls. The single fact remains—a salient and paramount fact—that since our economy is far less developed than the Common Market's economy, it is as yet poorly prepared for these integration processes.

[Bogdanov] I would just like to remind you and our listeners that during the session of the seven a very unusual, unparallelled, and unprecedented event took place. I have in mind our president's letter addressed to the seven.

[Bovin] Now that is interesting.

[Bogdanov] The so-called famous Gorbachev letter.

[Bovin] Now can you explain to me why this famous letter has not been published in our press?

[Bogdanov] I think that it is, of course, another blunder. I would even say disrespect toward our own consumers of information, our own citizens.

[Bovin] It is simply strange.

[Bogdanov] I know that there was a briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Bovin] I know that too.

[Bogdanov] A briefing which was conducted by Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and at which he made known the contents of this letter. But probably-...[Bogdanov changes thought] I agree that this is the kind of major event which would have merited the full publication of this letter in our press.

[Bovin] It is another matter that there was no need to publish it. We sometimes do this, we publish some document before we hand it over. There was no need to do this, but once you have handed it over you need to publish it. It was very interesting: for the first time we scored some major propaganda points, because for the first time we said to them that we too want to get involved in these economic processes and to participate in the coordination of economic policy. We thus made these seven think, and they said—while full of goodwill toward the Soviet Union—all in all, that the time is not yet ripe for this, as far as I understand it.

[Levin] At the same time, however, our central newspapers reproduced statements made by French Foriegn Minister Dumas, who, in characterizing Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's letter—it was formally addressed to French President Mitterrand....

[Bovin, interrupting] Mitterrand, as the boss, yes.

[Levin] Yes. So Dumas said that this message may become a decisive element in the policy of detente and rapprochement. Of course it would be very interesting to become acquainted with this document in detail and in depth. I hope that this will still happen, and that this will happen sooner or later. Better sooner than later.

Now, to sum up some of the results of this same meeting of the seven, it must be said that the present conference had primarily been planned, as people were writing on the eve of the meeting, as being about....

[Bovin, interrupting] North-South.

[Levin] North-South.

[Bovin] Debt and ecology.

[Levin] The problems of indebtedness and the ecology, but these problems took second place. Into the foreground moved Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message and the fact that the EEC was delegated rights to convoke a conference of interested countries on the provision of economic aid to Poland, Hungary, and other socialist countries that show an interest.

[Bovin] If we are moving toward the end, and now that the subject of Hungary and Poland has arisen again, I think, comrades that we must of course stress this: we are watching what is happening there with immense sympathy, and we wish our Polish and Hungarian friends success in the radical transformation of their political system. The situation is, however, a very difficult and complex one, with a great many unknown factors. All in all, I think any long-term forecasts are impossible for the moment.

[Levin] I would like to note this point, too. Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of the West German Land of Baden Wuerttemberg, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and a very major political figure in the FRG, said in a recent interview: If people in the Soviet Union see progress in the economic sphere, then Gorbachev's policy will be successful. Since the success of Gorbachev's policy is advantageous to us as well, we states in the West must offer the USSR partnership in the economic sphere.

What is involved here is not the transfer of gigantic sums of money, but the coordination of many specific projects, for example for creating joint enterprises, training managers, and encouraging cooperation between Western firms and Soviet enterprises. Very often the question arises of why the Gorbachev policy is advantageous for the West.

[Bovin] There is probably a very simple answer to that question. If one looks at all politics and at the whole modern world from the point of view that we are all people, that we all belong to a single civilization, the advantage to the West—what is called the advantage—lies in the fact that an opportunity is opening up for a normal existence for all people, without fear.

[Bogdanov] I think we should rely less on economic aid from the West and do a bit more work ourselves.

[Levin] The fact that we ourselves need to work above all is so obvious, although for the moment, unfortunately, it is not being put into practice; it is being put into practice inadequately. That is the way I would put it.

Bearing in mind that our time has run out, let us, on that note, thank our listeners for their attention. All the best.

Malaysia Roundtable Addresses Asian Security

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[Doctor of Historical Sciences Ye. Bazhanov report: "Time Is Running Out. Dialogue in the Asian-Pacific Region"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur-Moscow—In 1986 the Soviet leadership put forward a proposal to work toward convening a Pacific conference on the Helsinki model with the

participation of all states associated with the ocean. Since then politicians, scientists, and journalists from various countries have virtually been vying with each other to prove that the Asian-Pacific Region is too different from Europe for Old World experience to be utilized there. The proposal to create a negotiating mechanism on security problems in the Asian-Pacific region has not been accepted by most governments.

But, nonetheless, the Helsinki winds are beginning to reach the Pacific Ocean. Multilateral discussion is also starting there. One of its channels is the roundtable on confidence-building measures and on strengthening security in the Asian-Pacific region, which is being held in the Malaysian capital, Kuala Lumpur. The first roundtable, which took place in 1987, the forum's organizers from the Malaysian Institute of Strategic and International Studies note, brought together 60 participants, but the recent third one had 150 participants. Moreover, virtually all the countries of the Asian-Pacific region were represented: from the USSR in the north to Australia in the south, from Mongolia in the west to the United States in the east. Government members, legislators, diplomats, military men, public figures, businessmen, scholars, and journalists were among the delegates.

What is even more noteworthy is that in the last 2 years the atmosphere at the conference has changed drastically. In the words of one "veteran," at the first roundtable Soviet and U.S. experts argued desperately, last year they simply argued, and this time they exchanged opinions.

There was no cause at all for polemics between the USSR and PRC representatives. Discussions between envoys from the Indochinese and ASEAN countries were civilized. Delegates from North and South Korea talked peacefully in the corridors.

The spirit of constructivism which predominated at the conference reflected the important changes taking place in the international arena. The roundtable participants mentioned them repeatedly: the "wonderful" progress in military-political detente between the Soviet Union and the United States, the "inspiring" normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, the opening up of dialogue between the PRC and the SRV, the revitalization of ties between the Indochinese states and the ASEAN countries, the decrease of tension in the Taiwan Strait, and the organization of unofficial contacts between the socialist countries and Seoul. As Dr Mahathir Mohamed, prime minister of Malaysia, stressed in his speech to delegates, "never before in the life of the last two generations has there been such an auspicious conjunction of propitious political factors in the entire heavens."

Most of the conference participants shared the viewpoint that the changes in world politics are based on profound and long-term factors. First, the "epoch of ideology," which predominated for almost the whole of the present century, giving rise to conflicts and wars, is coming to an end. People and nations no longer want to destroy each other over ideological differences. Second, China and then the Soviet Union have faced up to solving domestic tasks, subordinating their foreign policy to this. Their reforms represent one of the greatest events of postwar history and are helping to strengthen peace and stability on earth. Other great powers, including the United States and Japan, are "waking up" to the fact that it is imperative to restructure their own home. Third, there is growing understanding in the world that a state's power and security and its people's well-being depend less and less on weapons and increasingly on progress in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology. Militarism brought Japan to total collapse, the representatives of many Asian countries pointed out, while its economic achievements have led to prosperity and influence abroad.

Mankind is capable of opening up a new chapter in its history—this was the conclusion of the roundtable participants. But (and this was also discussed a great deal in Kuala Lumpur) this is no reason for boundless optimism. There are plenty of obstructions and submerged reefs on the way to more harmonious international relations.

The roundtable experts probably paid most attention to the conflict in Cambodia. Everyone agrees that this "hotspot" must be extinguished as soon as possible. A consensus has been reached on the external aspects of the problem: the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, an end to military aid from abroad, guarantees of Cambodia's independence and neutrality, and so on. But differences remained in the approach to internal aspects. No one doubted the thesis of the need to avoid civil war in Cambodia and to prevent Pol Pot's genocide regime from gaining power.

Opinions diverged as regards methods of achieving the desired result. The Soviet position does not suit everyone. "You disappoint us," a Singapore journalist said to me, "Moscow must 'pressure' Hanoi and Phnom Penh and force them to agree to an immediate transfer of power to a provisional coalition government headed by N. Sihanouk." There were also other rejoinders in the spirit of the old thinking.

The conference participants also focused on the Korean problem. The delegates from the DPRK and South Korea "took the lead" in discussing it, which is quite logical. The North Korean spokesmen set out their government's well known program aimed at easing tension in Korea and at its peaceful unification: holding high-level military-political talks between North and South, and also talks among the DPRK, South Korea, and the United States, turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, creating a Koryo federation consisting of the two parts of Korea, and so on.

All the indications are that Seoul is not ready to respond to this impressive collection of initiatives. Detente on the peninsula was conceived by South Korean experts as

a gradual process of ascending from the simple to the complex—from nonpolitical contacts at low and intermediate levels to summit talks. The implementation of the idea of a Koryo federation, they claimed, is impossible as yet. One of the South's representatives stated: "Attempting to unite the two parts of Korea now is equivalent to forcing a young man and woman who do not love each other to marry. The different state systems and living standards in the North and South are obstacles to unification."

Prospects of military detente in the Asian-Pacific region worried the meeting's participants. The Soviet proposals on this score are well known. The names of Soviet cities were heard from speakers' lips time after time—Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, where in 1986 and 1988 respectively M.S. Gorbachev set out the basic parameters of Soviet strategy in the Asian-Pacific region.

Not all the Soviet initiatives meet with understanding in the Asian-Pacific region. Thus the idea of holding a Pacific conference on the Helsinki model in the Japanese city of Hiroshima, the first victim of atomic evil, was described in Kuala Lumpur as "cynically self-seeking and worthy of the methods of the 'cold war' epoch." Equally negative assessments were made of the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union to abandon the naval logistical support center in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay in exchange for the elimination of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Representatives of the ASEAN countries complained that the proposal was put forward at a critical moment in the U.S.-Philippine talks on defense questions and looked like an attempt to torpedo relations between Washington and Manila. The following argument was also expressed: The Southeast Asian states are not pawns and do not want the USSR to use their region as an arena for confrontation with the United States and "strategic bargaining" with it.

Among the roundtable participants there were also those who laid at the Soviet Union's door almost the entire range of the Asian-Pacific region's problems. One Asian scientist noted in this connection that, taking advantage of its new thinking, they are demanding almost unconditional capitulation from Moscow.

But such sentiments are now typical only of a few. The majority, at least at the Kuala Lumpur conference, spoke highly of the Soviet leadership's various steps and initiatives in the Asian-Pacific region. The Malaysian prime minister said that the proposals for the joint formulation of measures to avert incidents on the high seas and in the airspace over it, for timely notification of major naval exercises and maneuvers, and for contacts between the military deserve to be studied very seriously. In the sessions hall the question was repeatedly asked: Why isn't the United States reacting to Moscow's initiatives, why is it refusing to sit down with the USSR at the negotiating table to discuss questions of military detente in the Pacific?

Experts from the United States tried to "answer" on behalf of the Bush administration. They explained that the White House is absorbed with European matters; the size of the Pentagon's presence in the Asian-Pacific region does not exceed the bounds of reasonable sufficiency; Washington's Asian friends are against a reduction in its defense efforts. But immediate objections were made to what the Americans said. The Philippine Senator L. Shahani recalled that the question of the expediency of retaining the Pentagon bases is being seriously debated in her country. Some South Korean delegates stressed that similar debates may arise in Seoul in the future. Australian scientists and journalists advocated that the Asian-Pacific countries take advantage of the Soviet Union's invitation to send observers to the naval exercises in the Sea of Japan.

Economic problems were also discussed at the roundtable. Some experts warned that the conflicts in this sphere may be no less acute than ideological ones, and are possible even between allies and friends. So prospects of the growth of a competition struggle in the Asian-Pacific region instead of an ideological one should not be idealized. At the same time it was pointed out that any country's self-exclusion from participation in the competition struggle in the region's markets will by no means save either itself or its Pacific neighbors from anxieties and difficulties. Autarky is fraught with laggardness and degradation, and, as a result, with destabilization of the international situation. It is precisely for this reason, the roundtable participants said, that Asia would welcome greater USSR activity in economic questions maybe even at the cost of a decline in the level of activity in the political sphere.

Various territorial, religious, national, and historical problems which, because of neglect or as a result of mistaken decisions, may impede positive tendencies in international relations are still on the agenda. There are also dangers in internal disorders. The recent tragic events in the PRC confirmed yet again the indisputable truth: Radical transformations in society may cause ideological-political, social, and economic complications. Successes achieved in the twinkling of an eye may be threatened. China is not alone in experiencing a time of turbulent changes.

So a long and difficult road to build a renewed, more stable and civilized world both in the Pacific and in the world as a whole lies ahead. Everyone must travel this road. This is the conclusion of the roundtable participants. One of them recalled an Arabic saying: If everyone sweeps outside his own front door, then the entire street will be clean.

Economic Impact of Foreign Aid Discussed

PM1907115289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Ye.B. Arefyeva, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, by V. Skosyrev: "From Dogmas to Realism: Can Our Financial Burden Be Alleviated by Economizing on Aid to the Developing Countries?"—date, place of interview not stated]

[Text] The debates before and during the Congress of People's Deputies supplied plenty of food for thought on the subject of how to rescue our economy from its state of crisis. One idea concerns the USSR's relations with developing countries. It was proposed that aid to those states be limited, or, as one deputy cautiously put it, that we think about how much our interests in, say, Latin America cost us.

Thus, major questions were raised, and the reader has the right to an answer to them. Our interviewee today is Ye.B. Arefyeva, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, who specializes in "Third World" problems.

[Skosyrev] Yelena Borisovna, first of all I would like to know what you think, is it right for us to talk about reducing support for economically underdeveloped countries?

[Arefyeva] First let us look at what our aid consists of, and what its volume is. Abroad, it is customary to divide foreign economic ties into two kinds—mutually beneficial, and, conversely, not beneficial for states that transfer resources to other countries. It is this second type of relations that is known as aid in international practice. Of course, this type of ties is not beneficial only in the direct sense, but in the long term, taking into account the diversity of political and economic goals, it may be highly effective for the donor state. But according to international norms this indirect effect is not taken into account, and the direct result should not turn out in favor of the donor. For us, it is customary to call all relations with developing countries, except direct trade relations, "assistance" ["sodeystviye"], and to include the full volume of credits under the heading of aid in drawing up documents for international forums. In this connection our compatriots have, on the contrary, usually demonstrated that this transfer of resources is beneficial to us, by combining genuinely mutually beneficial relations with direct deductions from the budget.

But if it is not clear where there may be a deduction from the budget and where there may be an addition to it, this cannot be deduced from aid statistics themselves. After all, we lack not only open statistics on this score, but even, apparently, secret statistics, there is not even an awareness of the need for such statistics. As in other cases, we have to use Western estimates.

[Skosyrev] What do Western sources say about the scale of our aid?

[Arefyeva] According to American estimates, in 1987 the USSR granted aid amounting to $3 billion to those states categorized as developing countries. In total, if you also count Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam, which fall into the group of developing countries according to the UN classification, our aid is estimated by Western experts as being equal to 0.3-0.5 percent of our gross national product.

We have hitherto been proud that this indicator is higher than for, say, the United States (in 1987—0.21 percent). But here too a question arises—can we permit ourselves this luxury, in view of the difference in the size of our two states' gross and per capita incomes? Furthermore it is important to bear in mind that our aid and U.S. aid are supplemented by a very substantial addition in the form of military assistance. According to American experts' figures, whereas for the United States the volume of nonmilitary aid to military aid is in a ratio of 1:0.6, for us the ratio is 1:1.8. Incidentally, the figures for the United States are taken not from other countries' press reports, but from an open report of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee of the Congress, published in 1989.

[Skosyrev] Is it so very necessary to publish information on the structure of aid?

[Arefyeva] It is very important. After all, aid largely determines the prospects for the payment of credits. Until recent years our military aid to a number of states virtually amounted to pure trade, and even produced a direct benefit, since it was repaid on time and mainly in convertible currency. Now the situation is changing—debtors not infrequently extend the term of repayment of credits. Debts are growing.

[Skosyrev] Can you say what sum is owed to us by the developing countries?

[Arefyeva] Only a couple of weeks ago I could only have cited Western press figures. But on 30 June, during the discussion of his candidacy at the Supreme Soviet, V.M. Kamentsev named a figure that permits us to make certain assumptions. Apparently the developing countries account for the main bulk of the debt to us, which amounts to R87.5 billion. Of this, approximately one-fourth is in convertible currency.

However, our credits are repaid not only in convertible currency, but also in goods—food, consumer goods, raw materials. On this basis our specialists often justify a policy of assistance in which genuinely concessionary and mutually beneficial relations are interwoven and confused. In the West this fact is used as an argument against our disinterest, and our assistance is regarded as "import-oriented." Here I would like to stress that the repayment of credits in goods is an enforced measure. This is no grounds

for justifying aid in the eyes of our citizens, because consumer goods are often chosen on the basis of chance, isolated deals, and are often not what we need!

[Skosyrev] It is true that life is hard, but full of paradox. Who can benefit from this confusion?

[Arefyeva] At the risk of sounding banal, in my view this is the result of the legacy of administrative edict methods in the leadership of foreign economic activity. It suited the bureaucrats to decide everything in their offices without revealing to the population what volume of resources is being diverted from the national economy.

[Skosyrev] But if aid is directly detrimental to us, then surely those who call for us to consider the possibility of reducing it are right?

[Arefyeva] The question is not so simple. However difficult our economic position is now, we are still a great power. Membership of this "club" imposes on us a duty to participate in the resolution of global problems, including the problem of the backwardness of the developing countries. I am pleased that we have stopped insisting on the view that only the capitalist states are responsible for this, as heirs of the imperial powers, and have acknowledged, within the context of the new thinking, the significance of humanist tasks in international affairs. It is on the basis of humanism and common human values that we should participate autonomously and through international organizations in the transfer of resources to the liberated states on aid terms.

In fact, there are examples of this, and recent ones at that. When the famine hit Ethiopia, we did not remain aloof, we sent transport aircraft and food to that state. Incidentally, this action, which was carried out together with the United States, met with a positive response in the West.

[Skosyrev] The international policy of a socialist state should be based on the principle of morality, there is no disputing that. But what, all the same, can we be responsible for, except, of course, the future? You cannot deny that many plants, power stations, and other facilities were built in Asia and Africa with our country's participation, as a result of which independent states on those continents found their feet and gained economic autonomy. Remember, for instance, the metallurgical plants at Bhilai and Bokaro in India, the Aswan hydroengineering project in Egypt. You cannot erase all that from history.

[Arefyeva] I entirely agree with you. Let me add that it was only the Soviet Union's support in the fifties and sixties that enabled young states to obtain loans and other types of aid from the West on more favorable terms. All this is true. The trouble is that today it is clear that our traditional approaches are not working, and the developing countries themselves are seeking to obtain a completely different kind of assistance from us compared with 20-30 years ago.

[Skosyrev] Indeed, even the leaders of those countries that we regard as countries of socialist orientation say that they need not so much industrial giants as small, economically autonomous enterprises, particularly in the agrarian sector, that can easily fit into the market economy and the international division of labor. What conclusion should we draw?

[Arefyeva] First of all it must be admitted that our model of development toward which these states oriented themselves did not prove justified under their conditions and often retarded economic growth and caused new problems. It would, of course, be wrong to think that we wholly maintained "Third World" countries. For instance, in the mid-eighties our share of the annual influx of foreign state credits was very modest and totaled, according to estimates, 0.6 percent in Algeria and the Congo, 1.3-1.8 percent in Benin, Tanzania, and Madagascar, 6-8 percent in Syria, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, and 12 percent in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. But the influence on the ideology of the ruling circles and the state's economic policy was incomparably higher. Now, however, the majority of those countries are rejecting the principle of all-embracing state control of the economy and going over to encouraging foreign ownership and the development of an export sector.

In short, dogmas are being discarded and a turn is taking place toward realism. That is a good thing. But we too must not only correctly evaluate these processes, but take them into account in our foreign economic activity.

[Skosyrev] It is probably very hard to resolve the problem of combining pure aid with mutually beneficial assistance. What first steps could be outlined in this direction?

[Arefyeva] Two things are needed: first, a broader, more scientific, more up-to-date approach, second, total glasnost. In view of our own difficulties it is important to define what the volume of aid could be and, of course, what interests it is to serve. I can see only one path here—to submit the question for discussion by the Supreme Soviet, in the Committee for International Affairs and other committees and commissions examining the state budget. Then, incidentally, it will also be possible to discuss the gulf that has formed between declarations of a departure from ideology in interstate relations and the preservation of the structure of subsidies whereby the lion's share goes to maintain ideologically determined relations (for instance, with Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, and certain progressive regimes in the "Third World").

[Skosyrev] Fine, let us allow the Supreme Soviet to arrive at a definitive correlation between aid and mutually beneficial ties. Will it not then be necessary to make additional changes to the mechanism of foreign economic ties?

[Arefyeva] Life itself has long demanded such changes. What has already been done in the sphere of opening up the economy to the outside world and stepping up foreign economic ties has not yet affected aid. But in effect it is already being affected, and negatively at that, by the economic mechanism. The fulfillment by industry of deliveries that require a special quality standard, as well as the provision of specialists' services, on the basis of the state order does not meet the interests of enterprises that are going over to self-financing and foreign currency cost recovery. What is to be done? There is no need to reinvent the wheel—we can make use of other countries' experience and introduce a proper system of state purchases, the most advantageous possible form for enterprises, the form for which there is competition throughout the world. Of course, in addition it will be necessary to transfer the problem of financing aid to the state itself, to the budget appropriations that will be allocated by the Supreme Soviet.

The main benefit offered by the change in the procedure for exmaining and approving the aims and volume of aid and its separation from other forms of foreign economic ties is the opportunity to take decisions in the light of the whole range of economic and social tasks of our development. The aid itself will also look different. For instance, the terms will be differentiated and will differ markedly from normal commercial terms, taking relations with developing countries out of the sphere of "planned loss-making friendship" (which, incidentally, as a rule makes a loss despite all our plans).

But that is not all. The Soviet Union, as our leaders have stated repeatedly, is interested in extending contacts with international financial organizations. But they understand us poorly, and even look at us warily, becasue we do not supply objective data on aid. I saw this for myself 2 months ago when I met with staffers of the International Reconstruction and Development Bank in Washington.

Having abandoned our traditional approach, we will approach the standards that exist in the world. And this, in turn, will facilitate the establishment of links with international financial organizations.

[Skosyrev] And all the same, can we expect as a result that the financial burden on us will be alleviated?

[Arefyeva] One cannot really count on a very large saving of resources. The fact is that for quite a long time to come we will have to fulfill commitments we adopted earlier. Moreover new ones will arise in connection with our awareness of our new role in international affairs. At the same time in a number of cases there are reserves for reducing the volume of concessionary credits and the nonrepayable transfer of resources. These include, first, ideologically determined assistance, which often not only diverts resources from our national income, but fails to produce marked results for the recipient countries. Second, there is military aid, the principles for which need revising on the basis of the new thinking and the new defense doctrine. I think if we are consistently implementing the idea of reducing our military presence in foreign territories and seeking the resolution of regional conflicts, it would be logical also to adopt a new approach to the question of military aid to developing countries.

United States & Canada

Akhromeyev Addresses U.S. Congressional Committee

LD2107185989 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Washington July 21 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev spoke today at the hearings in the House Committee on Armed Service of U.S. Congress about the Soviet military posture for the 1990s.

In his opening statement Akhromeyev, who is also an adviser to the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet on military matters, expressed the hope that during the 1990s the national security interests of states will be ensured primarily by political, not military means. The Soviet Union, he said, intends to seek this objective. Akhromeyev described in detail the current state of the Soviet Armed Forces, dwelling on the principal directions of their possible development depending on progress in arms control.

"The Soviet Union firmly intends to abide by the defensive military doctrine and to maintain its Armed Forces at a minimum level", Ahkromeyev said. "The Soviet Union and its allies are prepared to reduce their armed forces and to restructure them in a manner making reliable security a reality. We expect the same of NATO.

At the same time Akhromeyev expressed his concern over the American reluctance to negotiate cuts in naval forces. He also underscored the need for continued observance of the Soviet-American ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty of 1972.

The Soviet marshal's speech aroused enormous interest on Capitol Hill. The committee's chairman, Congressman Les Aspin described it as "unprecedented". Never before has such a ranking military official from the USSR addressed a Congress committee, he said.

President Bush Replies to Gorbachev Greetings

LD2207154689 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—U.S. President George Bush has sent a message to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in reply to his greetings on the occasion of the 213th anniversary of the U.S. Independence Day.

On behalf of the American people and himself President Bush thanked the Soviet leader for his greetings.

Senate Amendment on PLO Contacts Noted

LD2107143289 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Washington July 21 TASS—The U.S Senate passed by 97 votes to one an amendment curtailing U.S contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), despite the objections of U.S President George Bush.

However, Bush managed to persuade the Senate to reject another amendment, proposed by Senator Jesse Helms, which also demanded a halt to the U.S-PLO dialogue started last year. The amendment was turned down by 75 votes to 23.

Some senators accuse PLO of terrorism against American citizens and used these charges as a pretext for proposing both amendments.

U.S. Resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh 'Provocative'

LD2207070689 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July TASS—PRAVDA's political news analyst Vitaliy Korionov has described the move by the Senate of the U.S. Congress to approve on July 19 a resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh as provocative.

"American senators pretend to be worried about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and to be protecting the interests of some or other people in the USSR. However, one does not need to have penetrating acumen to understand that a speculative game is played in the hope to shake loose the foundation of our multi-ethnic home," the paper writes.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is a totally internal matter of the USSR, the author points out. On what ground do "American senators interfere in issues which are the prerogative of another sovereign state and it alone? Does the USSR Supreme Soviet allow itself to adopt resolutions concerning, say, the state of matters in some or other U.S. state?"

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, just like in some other areas of the USSR, is the cause of particular concern and attention for Soviet people. Any outside interference, the more so interference by a foreign state, its bodies, only heats up passions and results in a further exacerbation of the situation.

"Top-ranking Washington administration officials have stated on more than one occasion in the past that they intend to work toward further normalising relations with the USSR. President George Bush even said that the United States now stands on the threshold of a new era in relations with the Soviet Union. Such statements meet with full understanding and support in the USSR. So, why at a time of such a high responsibility should steps be taken, which cannot be described other than provocative?" Korionov concludes.

Analyst Questions Logic of Stealth Bomber

LD2107163389 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

During the discussion by U.S. Congress of the Pentagon budget for the next fiscal year, the question of further outlays for the B-2 bomber programme is causing heated debate. The programme's exorbitant cost has caused a storm of criticism from the legislators. Over 23 billion dollars has already gone into it, while the tentative overall cost of the project is expected to exceed 70 billion, with each of the 132 bombers planned for serial production costing 532 million dollars in U.S. taxpayers' money. Many congressmen think that, given its present financial difficulties, the United States is just not in a position to permit itself such astronomical spending. Les Aspin, chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, said that an annual 7 to 8 billion dollars requested by the Pentagon for the bomber, the costliest weapon in U.S. history, exceeds the military budgets of most of the world's countries.

Without a doubt, the legislators' "financial skepticism" over the B-2 bomber programme has serious justification and as the U.S. CBS television network pointed out, the Congress may ask more questions about the justification of this spending than the Pentagon will be able to answer. But one would wish to raise yet another problem connected with the B-2 bomber. Regrettably, this problem has yet failed to be duly reflected in the debate in U.S. Congress.

What is at issue is the impact that the programme of development and serial production of the B-2 bomber may have on strategic stability. The fact is that the new bomber has been built according to the "Stealth" technology which will allegedly enable it to avoid being detected by modern air defence means. Every country has, of course, a sovereign right to modernise its aircraft. But can a country ignore the likely impact of the exercise in terms of the existing balance of forces? The more so that the country in question is participating in talks aimed at enhancing strategic stability. One would think that this factor just cannot be brushed aside, for otherwise one would have to call into question the sincerity of that country's intentions at talks on arms reductions and limitations.

Speaking on the occasion of the start of a new round of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms, U.S. President George Bush said that the United States would emphasize at the talks the need for a stable nuclear balance and a stronger potential for containment through reductions and limitations of strategic nuclear forces posing the greatest threat to security and stability. But the fact is that an Armada of B-2 bombers capable of avoiding detection by air defence means, i.e. essentially neutralising the defence facilities of the other side, will introduce a clear element of uncertainty into the strategic equation. So how will in this case the President's statement square with the administration's desire to railroad through Congress at any price an arms programme posing a threat to this stability?

Besides, one would wish to raise yet another aspect of no small importance. American officials talk a lot abou the feasibility of shifting the emphasis to defence, coupled with reductions in the offensive capabilities of the sides. In reality, however, Washington strives to beef up its strategic offensive potential and to reduce the defence potential of the USSR. Washington applies different yardsticks to the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] systems and to air defence—in both cases to its own advantage. So where is the logic? Or the intention here is to only gain unilateral advantages by rejecting any logic.

One would think that the above considerations also ought to be taken into account in deciding the fate of the B-2 programme since upsetting the strategic stability is equally dangerous for both the USSR and the USA and for the whole world for that matter.

Newspaper Cited on U.S. Nuclear War Strategy

LD2307092889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0736 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] San Francisco, 23 Jul (TASS)—The United States is drawing up a new strategy for waging nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the LOS ANGELES TIMES reported today quoting unnamed "well-informed sources".

According to the newspaper's account, it involves plans for a massive "pre-emptive" nuclear strike, by means of which the U.S. command hopes to eliminate Soviet command centers and "decapitate" the USSR's military and political leadership in the very first hours of an armed conflict. To achieve this goal, a new generation of nuclear weapons with an enhanced destructive might, capable of destroying well-reinforced underground bunkers, will be needed, the LOS ANGELES TIMES notes.

The development [razrabotka] of such a weapon is already under way, says the paper. In particular, work is taking place to develop [sozdaniye] nuclear amunition that is to explode deep underground. To pinpoint mobile missiles and command posts special sensors are being developed [sozdayutsya] to be secretly planted on Soviet territory, according to the plan. In addition, it is intended to put into near-earth orbit a new generation of spy-satellites fitted with high-resolution optical equipment, able to locate objects 7.5 cm in size.

The order to draw up a new plan for waging nuclear war against the Soviet Union, code-named "STOP-7" ["Strategic Integrated Operations Plan-7"] was given by the Reagan Administration, the LOS ANGELES TIMES says. Work on it has been under way for more than a year in Omaha, Nebraska, where the headquarters of the United State's Strategic Air Command (SAC) is situated.

USSR Warships Pay Goodwill Visit to Norfolk

LD2207140689 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Norfolk, Virginia July 22 TASS—Today is the second day of the good will visit to the United States of three Soviet warships led by first deputy commander-in-chief of the Soviet northern Naval Force Vice Admiral Ivan Kasatonov.

Vice Admiral Kasatonov and Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Dubinin thanked for the warm welcome afforded to Soviet sailors and replied to reporters' questions at a news conference held in Norfolk following the docking of the Soviet warships.

The leadership of the group of Soviet warships met with Vice Admiral Jerome Johnson, commander of the U.S. Second Atlantic Fleet on board the flagship Mount Whitney.

"This visit marks implementation in practice of the principle of openness in the relations between our two nations," Vice Admiral Johnson told TASS.

During the visit the Soviet sailors will meet with the U.S. naval commanders and mingle with the public and show their hospitality to all those wishing to come on board the Soviet ships. Performances will be given by the song and dance troupe of the Soviet Northern Fleet and the Soviet naval band.

Soviet sailors will be shown around the U.S. naval base in Norfolk.

POW Group's U.S. Visit Called 'Success'

LD2207082289 Moscow TASS in English 0615 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] New York July 22 TASS—Special to TASS by Laura Yow:

In the wake of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan lies an enormously unsettling and as of yet unsettled question—what will happen to the Soviet prisoners of war left behind in the hands of the mujahidin? In the United States this week to champion for their release was a delegation from the Soviet Coordination Committee on the Liberation of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, who left New York today after a week of meetings with American Congressmen to gain support for their cause.

The seven member delegation, which includes three veterans of the Afghan War, officially classified as invalids due to wounds received in the war, came to Washington to meet with representatives of the U.S. Government in the hopes that a deal with the mujahidin could be facilitated by a government that has been friendly to the rebels since the Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan in 1979. Said Sarah de Kay, secretary of the International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, "The only hope for a deal is through people who've been helping them all these years." While in Washington, the delegation met with Congressman Thomas Lantos, co-chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, who agreed to put the issue of the Soviet POWs into the caucus' program. The backing by the human rights caucus, and by Congressman Charles Wilson, an active supporter of the mujahidin lends valuable international support to the question of the release of the Soviet POWs. The congressmen and the delegation discussed possible terms of release for the POWs, and agreed to help with negotiations.

The group also met with a brother of Mojadeddi, the acting chief of the alliance of seven mujahidin groups based in Pakistan. They negotiated the release of Soviet POWs held by the mujahidin as well as the release of mujahidin POWs held by the government in Kabul.

Igor Blishchenko, a member of the delegation, told TASS that such meetings were made possible by the general improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations. "These meetings are a base for Soviet-American cooperation in attaining the noble goal of the release of Soviet soldiers held in captivity," he said.

The Coordination Committee on the Liberation of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan is a group made up of Soviet citizens which incorporates those working for the release of the Soviet POWs and the relatives of the POWs. The trip to the United States by the delegation was arranged with the help of Mikhail Shemiakin, a Russian-American artist who is also the founder and chairman of the International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, a group of Western writers and artists dedicated to obtaining the release of the Soviet POWs.

The trip, one of the most serious initiatives on the part of the Soviet delegation to obtain the release of the POWs, was a success, judging by the positive reaction of their American counterparts, Shemiakin told TASS.

'Era of Restrictions' Caused by Budget Deficit

OW2407055789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1040 GMT 19 Jul 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by political observer Valentin Dvinin]

[Excerpt] The U.S. mass media is commenting on the just completed tour of Europe undertaken by George Bush, that country's president. I shall remind you that Bush paid visits to Poland and Hungary, participated in the conference of the seven leading capitalist countries that convened in Paris, and then also visited the Netherlands.

A U.S. television company, CBS, believes that, although the President has been speaking much about the triumph of Western values, the tour has shed light on the weakening of the U.S. influence. According to CBS, the U.S. President increasingly has to share the leading role with West European countries. The visits to Poland and Hungary, as well as the results of the Big Seven conference—I quote—clearly emphasize the fact that the U.S. no longer has the money to allow it to solve the problems of the world. The television company's commentary says: President Bush returns home once again to encounter the reality of a federal budget deficit which has led to the beginning of the era of restrictions. [passage omitted]

China

USSR-PRC Commission Continues Moscow Meeting

Tian Jiyun Visits Space Center

OW2207085889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] The fourth meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technological Cooperation opened in Moscow on 21 July. The Chinese delegation is led by Tian Jiyun, member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council.

In the morning, before the opening of the commission's plenary session, the Chinese delegation visited a jointly run enterprise and a space control center. Prelaunch assembly work was in progress at the space center.

The USSR minister of general machine building and the chief engineer of space technology met with Tian Jiyun and his entourage. They showed the Chinese visitors preparations for space flight and gave an account of the past, present, and future of Soviet space exploration. At the end of meeting, the hosts and guests both proposed to discuss the issue of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in space navigation.

Ryzhkov, Tian Jiyun Meet

PM2407103089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Soviet-Chinese Meeting"]

[Text] Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov received in the Kremlin today [22 July] Tian Jiyun, a Politburo member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and vice-premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, who heads the government delegation now staying here in conjunction with the fourth session of the Soviet-Chinese commission on economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation.

During the talk that passed in an atmosphere of comradely mutual understanding, both sides pointed out that in conditions of normalizing interstate relations and restoring ties between the CPSU and the CPC as a result of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China, there were favorable political prerequisites for strengthening good-neighborliness, mutual trust, and traditional friendship between the two countries' peoples. The interest of the Soviet Union and China in deepening the process of positive changes on the international scene is also instrumental to this.

Mindful of the mutual desire to work toward deepening cooperation on the mutually beneficial and equitable basis, the sides underlined the growing importance of coordinating and guiding role of the Soviet-Chinese commission which is called upon to find the most effective solutions to current and future questions of trade, economy, science, technology, and education.

Ryzhkov and Tian Jiyun exchanged views in connection with the work to elaborate a long-term program of cooperation between the USSR and the PRC in trade, economics, science, and technology for the period ending in 2000, which has been launched. Specific considerations and proposals for further boosting links in such areas as power engineering, including nuclear power engineering, transport, electronics, consumer goods production, the woodworking industry, and agriculture were put forward.

Both sides voiced the intention to encourage co-production, the launching of joint ventures and the building of factories and plants on a turn-key basis. They positively assessed the development of links between the Soviet and Chinese border regions.

The Soviet Union and China are going through serious internal transformations aimed at identifying reserves inherent in the socialist system. In view of this, the sides noted mutual benefit from the exchange of information, expertise, and comparing of the two countries' standpoints.

Taking part in the talk were Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR; and other officials.

Tian Honors Lenin, Unknown Soldier

LD2207105589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council, who is visiting our country, today [22 July] laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He honored the memory of the founder of the CPSU and the Soviet state by a minute's silence. A wreath also was laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. [video shows wreath-laying ceremonies at mausoleum and Unknown Soldier's grave]

USSR-PRC Consultations Held

LD2207125389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul (TASS)—Soviet-Chinese consultations on questions concerning a Cambodian settlement, in connection with the forthcoming Paris international conference on Cambodia, have been held at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Taking part in the consultations were: USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and PRC Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Tian Zengpei. He arrived in Moscow as a member of a PRC delegation for the fourth meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Commission.

Maslyukov Interviewed

OW2207061389 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Interview with Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by unidentified station reporter—Maslyukov's answers recorded in Russian fading into Mandarin translation; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Dear listeners: The fourth meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Commercial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has opened in Moscow. In this connection, Maslyukov, head of the Soviet delegation at this meeting, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, replies to some questions by our station reporter.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What is your view of the prospects of Soviet-Chinese economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation after the summit in May?

[Maslyukov] The historic meeting between senior Soviet and Chinese leaders and the normalization of state and party relations opened a new chapter in the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. The improvement of political relations provides a strong impetus for expanding economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and China. The political restrictions on cooperation have now been removed, and this has gradually become an important factor for economic development in both countries. One possible outcome in the next few years is that it will have a comprehensive and long-term impact on relations between the two countries in the realms of trade, economics, science, and technology, and that these relations will expand in a positive and planned manner on the basis of equality and mutual benefits. We must make more prominent use of this new and advanced state of economic cooperation, including cooperation in production, and set up more joint ventures, mainly to produce consumer goods.

[Reporter] What is the Soviet position at this meeting, and how do you evaluate the level of Soviet-Chinese cooperation?

[Maslyukov] Please allow me to begin by replying to the second part of the question first. We must admit frankly that the current potential in science, technology, and economics has not been fully utilized during Soviet-Chinese cooperation. The value of trade between the Soviet Union and China is also far below the potential level. Last year trade between the two countries amounted to more than R1.8 billion. Of course, This is a rather low figure. A new state of cooperation has not developed fully. Contacts in the spheres of scientific and technical cooperation to help solve urgent production tasks are inadequate. To make the current meeting of the Soviet-Chinese commission more substantial and effective, we must, first of all, discuss in detail basic and practical measures for implementing the agreements reached during the Soviet-Chinese summit in May. This meeting will also discuss specific questions on cooperation in the fields of power, transportation, metallurgy, aviation, forestry, light industry, agriculture, medicine, and public health. For example, relevant departments from the two countries will continue to work together in designing and building thermal power plants in China. Talks on cooperation in nuclear-powered industry will continue, including the construction of atomic power stations in China based on Soviet reactors.

[Reporter] What sort of practical results can we expect in the near future?

[Maslyukov] It was laid down that the two parties will increase the supply of commodities to each other this year. Trade between the two countries will probably near or surpass the R2 billion mark. The USSR is willing to increase its exports of machinery and equipment to China, including complex machinery and equipment, urgently needed in China's economy. Practical results have been achieved in fulfilling the economic and technical cooperation agreement signed in 1985 for constructing and upgrading some industrial projects in China. In fact, we are cooperating in 17 projects based on this agreement. In addition, relevant Soviet departments are providing equipment for some projects not included in the agreement. The largest of these projects is the supply of technical aid to construct the Nanjing thermal power plant. The USSR has also provided commercial loans on preferential terms. The two parties agreed that there are great potential for expanding economic cooperation and will raise cooperation between the two countries to the highest level possible. Reforms in the USSR and China insist upon bringing out fully the superiority of socialism to promote each other's hidden strength and make it possible to cooperate in utilizing each other's advantages. [end recording]

Further on Song Jian Delegation Visit to USSR

PRC Embassy Holds Reception

OW2207191089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] The Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union on 14 July held a reception for the grand opening of Chinese Science and Technology Day and the visit to the Soviet Union of the Chinese science and technology delegation. The Chinese science and technology delegation is headed by Song Jian, state councillor and minister in charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission.

Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union Yu Hongliang, Minister Song Jian, and Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, spoke at the reception party. They all pointed out that the Chinese Science and Technology Day in the Soviet Union is a major event in the relations between the two countries. They expressed satisfaction over the Soviet people's increasing desire to know more about China's achievements. They were deeply convinced that professional contacts between Soviet and Chinese scholars and experts would be further developed and that meetings and talks would be conducive to deciding a new director for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in economic, scientific, and technological fields.

Delegation Visits Leningrad Company

OW2207191589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Dear friends, the Chinese Government delegation, attending the Chinese science and technology day activities in the Soviet Union, continued its visit in Leningrad on 18 July. Our special correspondent (Garipov) filed the following report on the visit:

The distinguished guests from China visited the Leningrad Electrical Machinery Manufacturing Corp. It is one of the largest corporations in the world producing generator sets. It also produces electric motors and other machinery and equipment widely used by metallurgical, shipbuilding, chemical, timber-processing, and mining industries. One-fifth of its products is for export. In Asia, China is its largest cooperation partner.

It has been more than 2 years since the corporation resumed supply of large numbers of turbogenerators to Chinese power stations. The corporation also supplies rolling mills and relevant auxiliary equipment to the Baotou Iron and Steel Company. A question is being discussed on how this Leningrad corporation can assist in modernizing Chinese steel plants built with Soviet assistance in the 1950's and 1960's. The corporation is also planning to cooperate with the Harbin Electric Machinery Plant. The Chinese guests toured a workshop equipped with modern machine tools built by Chinese scholars and engineers.

Song Jian, head of the Chinese Government delegation, said to leading personnel of the corporation that the Chinese side is willing to supply more Chinese products to the corporation. He spoke highly of the corporation's scientific and technological level, efforts to ensure safety, and welfare for its workers and staff members. He also thanked it for delivering equipment to China on time and noted the good quality and great reliability of Soviet equipment.

Ends Visit to Novosibirsk

OW2207023089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] A Chinese Government delegation has ended its visit to Novosibirsk City. The delegation was headed by Song Jian, state councillor and minister in charge of the State Science and Technology Commission.

In an interview with Radio Moscow, Song Jian described the visit to Novosibirsk as very successful. He expressed his heartfelt thanks to the Soviet side for the warm reception accorded the Chinese delegation. He said that Chinese scientific and technological circles and scientists will strive to consolidate and develop the friendly and cooperative relations with the Soviet Union.

The delegation will go to visit Khabarovsk City on 21 July.

Arrives in Khabarovsk

OW2207034089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] The Chinese Government delegation which is on an official visit to the USSR arrived in Khabarovsk on 21 July. The Chinese guests will visit agricultural and industrial enterprises of the city and Khabarovsk Kray, meet with personages from the field of science and technology, and make an orientation trip along the Amur River by ferry.

Recently, economic, trade, scientific, technical, and cultural ties between Khabarovsk and Harbin in Shenyang and other Chinese cities and regions have been expanding smoothly. Some of the industrial, scientific, and technological centers in Khabarovsk maintain direct links with their Chinese partners. An air route between Khabarovsk and Harbin will be inaugurated this year.

In an interview with our station reporter, Song Jian, leader of the Chinese delegation, PRC state councillor, and minister in charge of the State Science and Technology Commission, expressed the hope to continue the useful dialogue on prospects of cooperation with the USSR during the delegation's sojourn in Khabarovsk.

Visits Vladivostock 22 Jul

OW2307210989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] According to Kalibov, our station's special correspondent in Vladivostock, a Chinese Government scientific and technical delegation visited Vladivostock on 22 July. It also visited an ocean observatory by boat.

The delegation is currently on an official visit in the USSR.

During a meeting with noted Soviet oceanographers, Song Jian, head of the delegation, state councillor of the Chinese State Council, and minister in charge of the

Chinese State Commission for Science and Technology, expressed satisfaction over the current state of development of relations between Soviet and Chinese scholars in this respect.

The two countries have been meeting at regular intervals to discuss issues concerning geological surveys. The two countries will also set up joint ventures on breeding shrimp and scallops.

Song Jian pointed out: The Soviet Government has attached great importance to the social and economic development in the coastal and border region as well as its cooperation with China. He expressed the hope that the meeting with leaders and personages of the scientific and technical circles in Vladivostock will help bring about the discussion of a broad range of issues and promote Soviet-Chinese economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Song Jian stressed: Our visit to the USSR is a very successful one.

While in the USSR, the Chinese Government delegation attended the Chinese Science and Technology Day activities and visited Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and Khabarovsk.

PRC Science Exhibition 'Welcomed'

OW2207190889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Dear listeners, the Chinese science and technology exhibition continues in Moscow. We can say without exaggeration that the exhibition is greatly welcomed. There are long lines of visitors at the entrance. Our station reporter (Tudajikova) has covered the exhibition. Please listen to her report:

The visitors are particularly interested in the booths displaying modern medical instruments and equipment and traditional Chinese medicine. According to a notice, they have run out of all booklets and other literature. A Chinese representative said that within a few days, tens of thousands of copies of medical literature were passed out. In a message book, I saw the names and messages of many Soviet companies seeking to cooperate with their Chinese counterparts. A visitor left a message briefly describing his illness and seeking help from Chinese doctors. I think it is very touching. All booths at the exhibition can seek Soviet business partners.

I asked Comrade (Wang Xiufen), director of the achievements section under the Science and Technology Department of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health, whether her organization established relations with relevant Soviet organizations. She answered:

[Begin recording] Yes, I think so. During the exhibition, we have established contacts with some Soviet medical scientists and engineers and cordially exchanged views with them on some topics of interest to them. At the same time, we have also discussed with them questions concerning future cooperation. We are eager to visit Soviet hospitals and scientific research organizations. With the exhibition going on, we are now very busy and will not be able to make the visits until the exhibition is over. We are very much interested in visiting your organizations. [end recording]

On display are many medical instruments made by the Shanghai electronic medical instruments plant. (Zhong Shifang), an engineer of the plant, said:

[Begin recording] During the exhibition, we have established good relations with many Soviet experts, many of our Soviet counterparts, and many Soviet factories. Mutual understanding was shown at our first meetings. Both sides have expressed willingness to cooperate with each other in the field of precision science and technology. Some letters of intent have been signed. We have been received by your coronary arteries research center, medical instrument import-export company, and electronic instruments plant. We have visited some of your factories and hospitals. We think that our two countries can cooperate with each other in many fields. Yesterday, we visited a Soviet electronic medical instruments plant, specialized in manufacturing ultrasonic medical instruments. Two directors warmly received us. Last night, we signed an agreement with them on cooperation projects. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Mongolia's Batmonh To Visit USSR 'Late July'

LD2107181389 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and president of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, will pay a working visit to the USSR late in July, 1989, at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Mongolian, PRC Officials Cited on Relations

LD1907180689 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar July 19 TASS—The negotiations held here have resulted in full normalisation of relations between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of China on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

In an interview to the newspaper UNEN L. Rinchin, chief of the International Relations Department of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, said that this fact consolidated the foundations for the development of friendship and good-neighbourly

relations between the peoples of the two countries, promoted the strengthening of the positions of socialism and unity of the international communist movement.

Both parties are attaching great significance to the study of each other's experience now that reforms are widely underway in Mongolia and China, he said.

L. Rinchin noted the broadening of Mongolian-Chinese relations in economy, trade, culture and science, a tendency for establishing direct relations between border regions of both countries. The foundation has been laid for the development of Mongolian-Chinese relations of a new type, he stressed.

Zhu Liang, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, head of the International Relations Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, has highly appreciated the restoration of normal relations between the two parties. We are confident that these relations will develop in the future on a stable basis, on the principles of independence, equality, mutual respect and non-interference into each other's internal affairs, he said in an interview to the Montsame News Agency before his departure for home.

The normalisation of Chinese-Mongolian party relations will promote a broad exchange of experience of socialist development, and economic and political reforms. It will also exert a favourable impact on further development of all-round relations and cooperation between China and Mongolia in different areas of social life.

Path to Mongolian-PRC Normalization 'Difficult'

PM2007122789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Nabatchikov article: "Mongolia-PRC: Barriers Removed"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—MONTSAME reports that an accord on the restoration and normalization of relations between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and the CPC has been reached in Ulaanbaatar on a basis of complete mutual understanding. The delegations participating in the talks confirmed the two parties' readiness for the further all-around development of interparty ties on the basis of the principles of equality, independence, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual respect.

The restoration of relations between the two countries' leading parties fully meets the interests of the Mongolian and Chinese peoples. Their long-standing expectations and hopes have been justified. In fact, Mongolia and China are socialist states with deep-rooted friendly relations and good-neighborly cooperation united by many common interests, traditions, a rich culture, and a long history. Almost two-thirds of Mongolia's state border is with neighboring China. The two states are now pursuing a policy of economic renewal and advocate the expansion of peaceful cooperation and mutually beneficial ties with the outside world.

Characterizing the accord as the complete normalization of bilateral relations between Mongolia and the PRC in all spheres, the Mongolian press points out that the path to that normalization was not strewn with roses but was difficult and long. For various reasons relations between the two countries had been frozen since the mid-sixties.

It was not until 1982, when the two countries carried out a joint inspection of Mongolian-Chinese border regions, that the barriers of alienation and distrust began gradually to be removed. The development of parliamentary ties, regular contacts between the foreign policy departments and their leaders, and the intensification of dialogue made it possible not only to considerably activate and promote Mongolian-Chinese relations but also to raise them to a qualitatively new level.

In 1988 a treaty was signed in Beijing on the regime of the state border and the procedure for settling border questions. The sides pledged to strictly observe and ensure stability in border regions and to create the basis for transforming the Mongolian-Chinese border from one of confrontation into one of friendship and cooperation. The prospect of equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation has opened up again, as has the prospect of reviving the Great Silk Road as a route of peace and friendship.

The meeting between the Mongolian and PRC foreign ministers in Beijing last year resulted in accords on reciprocal visa-free travel on official business by the two countries' citizens, the opening of new checkpoints with the aim of developing border trade, and also the exchange of information on specific questions of mutual interest.

Recently a decision has also been adopted on the creation of a Mongolian-Chinese intergovernmental commission on the development of trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Contacts in the sphere of culture, art, education, and sport which were broken off have been restored.

All the old obstacles to the development of bilateral ties in other spheres have also been eliminated in practice.

The transfer of Mongolian-Chinese relations to a new course is viewed here primarily in the context of the real achievements of the foreign policy of the MPRP and the Mongolian state, which has been characterized in recent years by the multifaceted nature of the approaches to topical problems and also by a firm commitment to the principles of the new political thinking in international affairs. In addition to the further deepening of friendship and collaboration with the fraternal socialist countries, the new concept of Mongolia's foreign policy activity envisages increasing attention to the development of

cooperation with all Asian and Pacific countries without exception, the search for means and methods of strengthening the atmosphere of trust, dialogue, good-neighborliness, and cooperation between them, and the enhancement of the role of political levers in safeguarding national security. The concrete confirmation of this is the recent decision on the considerable reduction of the Mongolian People's Army and defense spending and the process which has begun of withdrawing a substantial contingent of Soviet troops from the country's territory.

At the same time, the mass media here regard the normalization of Mongolian-Chinese relations as a reflection of the new situation in the world and general positive trends in Asia and the Pacific. It is being particularly emphasized in that respect that the normalization was the objective and logical continuation of that tremendous work done during the recent Soviet-Chinese summit in Beijing for the deepening of those processes.

The use of the advantages of a flexible, reasonable policy of dialogue and trust, it is believed here, opens new prospects for forming the foundation of mutual relations of the new type between neighboring countries for the solution of many regional and global problems and—most important—for strengthening security and the policy of trust both in Asia and the Pacific and throughout the world.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Soviet-Philippine Communique on Manglapus Visit

PM2207203689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

["Soviet-Philippine Communique"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Raul Manglapus, secretary of foreign affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from 16 through 21 July 1989 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

R. Manglapus was received by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During his stay in Moscow, R Manglapus laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall. The foreign secretary paid a visit to Leningrad.

Talks were held between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and R. Manglapus, during which there was an exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations and also on regional and international issues.

E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Manglapus told one another of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and the Philippines. R. Manglapus' attention was drawn to the resolution recently adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies "On the Basic Directions of USSR Domestic and Foreign Policy," enshrining the USSR's new political thinking, which emphasizes the priority of common human values and urges respect for freedom of choice, de-ideologization, demilitarization, and democratization of interstate relations, and seeks to make them constructive in nature.

R. Manglapus said that restructuring, glasnost, and democratization in the Soviet Union are arousing a great deal of friendly interest in the world. He noted that the Soviet leadership's new foreign policy line deserves serious attention on the part of all states and he advocated increasing the role of common human values in international relations.

There was an explanation from the Philippine side of Article Two of the Philippine Constitution, headed "Declaration of the Principles of State Policy," which states, in particular, Philippine adherence to "a policy of peace, equality, justice, freedom, cooperation, and friendship with all states." E.A. Shevardnadze expressed a high opinion of this provision of the Philippine Constitution, which places special emphasis on common human values.

It was noted with satisfaction that the USSR and the Philippines share common views or positions on a wide range of international issues, which creates fine prospects for strengthening Soviet-Philippine relations.

The talks participants welcomed the positive changes in the international arena, the first steps toward a world without nuclear weapons and wars. There was emphasis on the need to consolidate and further develop the positive tendencies in world politics. The ministers confirmed the importance of concluding new agreements which would complement the Soviet-American Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, particularly on the radical reduction of strategic offensive and conventional armaments.

Being convinced of the urgent need to end the nuclear arms race and achieve the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the sides advocated the speediest, all-embracing prohibition of nuclear tests and other measures geared to the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. In this connection, they urged the countries which have not yet ratified the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to do so.

The ministers stressed the importance of adopting immediate measures to prevent the militarization of space and the importance of implementing the principle whereby the study and exploration of space should serve the interests of all states, with special consideration for developing countries' needs.

Both sides called for the immediate conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, storage, and use of chemical weapons and the

destruction of all existing chemical weapons. They agreed that the adoption of such a convention would be an important step on the path to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Discussing the question of the foreign military presence in the context of disarmament issues, the sides stated their adherence to the relevant provisions laid down in the Soviet-Philippine statement on the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to the Philippines in December 1988.

E.A. Shevardnaze and R. Manglapus confirmed the principled stance of the USSR and the Philippines on the need to resolve conflicts and disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the norms of international law and the UN Charter. While welcoming in this context the important role played by the United Nations, the sides advocated constructive steps to further strengthen it.

Satisfaction was expressed at the real progress being made in the settlement of the conflict in South West Africa. The ministers expressed the hope that Iran and Iraq will put forth the requisite initiatives to ensure that the cease-fire will lead to an eventual settlement of the conflict.

Both ministers restated their support for the idea of convening under UN auspices an international conference on the Near East with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties, including the PLO. They also backed the rights of the Palestinian people to a homeland and to self-determination.

The talk participants indicated the need for an all-embracing political settlement of the Afghan problem, which would guarantee respect for Aghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, and nonaligned status. They stressed the importance of meticulous observance by all sides of the Geneva agreements and the corresponding UN General Assembly resolution.

There was a detailed discussion at the talks of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

It was noted that the implementation of the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk and Vladivostok could help strengthen security and stability in the region and arrange cooperation between states. The mutual opinion was expressed that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is a positive factor contributing to further reducing international tension and creating an atmosphere conducive to the resolution of regional conflicts.

Welcoming the political dialogue that is being established among Southeast Asian countries, the sides expressed hope that mutual trust and mutual understanding between states in the region will lead to the establishment of peace in that part of the world.

They favored the speediest, all-embracing political solution of the Cambodian problem, in line with the interests of the Cambodian people and of the region as a whole. While noting in this connection the importance of convening an international conference on Cambodia, the ministers urged all interested sides to contribute to its success. The mutual opinion was expressed that the upcoming conference on Cambodia in Paris, which both ministers propose to attend, will be a positive step toward a settlement.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's support for the ASEAN idea of creating a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia and its readiness to discuss the various aspects of turning Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone. It was stressed that the Soviet Union welcomes the enhancement of ASEAN's constructive role in world affairs, values the growing atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the USSR's relations with the association's members, and intends to continue along the path of developing comprehensive, mutually advantageous ties with them.

The ministers advocated the elimination of all forms of discrimination in international economic relations and backed the idea of gradually switching resources from the sphere of armaments and confrontation to the goals of socioeconomic development and cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Manglapus expressed deep concern in connection with the acute problem of the developing countries' foreign debt, which is an obstacle to their social, economic, and ecological development, swallowing up a substantial proportion of their already limited financial resources. They stressed the need to globalize the solution of this problem on the basis of the mutual and proportional responsibility of all participants in international credit links. The Soviet side backed R. Manglapus' proposal on setting up an international commission on international debt and development problems. In turn, the Philippine side welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's initiatives on the solution of the developing world's foreign debt problem, in particular the proposals to establish a moratorium of up to 100 years on the payment of debts by the least developed countries and in some cases write them off altogether, which would enable the aforementioned countries to ensure their constant growth and development.

The ministers stated with satisfaction the amicable and respectful atmosphere that has been established in relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines, which has made these relations broader and fuller. Special satisfaction was expressed in connection with the deepening political dialogue between them. There was confirmation of the mutual commitment to further activation and expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres.

It was stressed that President C. Aquino's official visit to the Soviet Union, planned for 1990, will make Soviet-Philippine cooperation even more dynamic and will contribute to strengthening trust and fruitful collaboration between the USSR and the Philippines.

The ministers welcomed the expansion of bilateral contacts along government and parliamentary lines and also between public oprganizations and advocated the continued development of exchanges in the spheres of culture, sport, science, and technology. They also agreed to encourage contacts between representatives of the media in both countries. The Philippine side showed interest in setting up a Philippine News Agency office in Moscow.

E.A. Shevardnadze and R Manglapus signed a program of cultural exchanges between the USSR and the Philippines for 1989-1990.

Both sides stated their intention to take advantage of all opportunities for expanding trade. There was confirmation of the mutual desire to set as the target for the next few years an increase in Soviet-Philippine trade to an annual level of approximately $200 million.

USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations K.F. Katushev and R. Manglapus signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Philippines. An accord was reached on starting work on the creation of a Soviet-Philippine commission on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

A memorandum was signed on the application of the 1982 agreement between the USSR Government and the Philippine Government on scientific-technical cooperation.

A memorandum was also signed on the intention of the sides to start talks at the expert level on the question of exchange of plots of land for both countries' diplomatic and trade missions in Manila and Moscow.

In order to promote Soviet-Philippine links, the sides reached agreement in principle on improving the practice of issuing visas.

The Soviet-Philippine talks took place in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. The sides stressed satisfaction with the results.

R Manglapus expressed thanks for the warm reception and hospitality he and the members of his delegation had received. He invited E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to the Philippines. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Manglapus's Leningrad Visit, Departure Reported

HK2207043489 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] The city of Cebu in the Visayas may become the newest sister city of Leningrad. This potential partnership was proposed by Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus during a meeting with the city's executive council.

The idea of a sister city tie aroused the interest of the guest after having been informed of the various cities which have established sister city ties with Leningrad within the framework of the World Federation of Sister Cities. At present, such ties are geared toward economic cooperation, development of relations, and establishment of joint ventures. Some 40 joint ventures have been set up in Leningrad in cooperation with various European firms as a result of changes in the country.

However, the absence of Philippine businessmen was raised at the meeting. Raul Manglapus then announced his readiness to help in establishing commercial ties.

Replying to a question by a TASS correspondent on whether he has achieved the objectives of his visit to the Soviet Union, the foreign secretary said: Yes, I think I have achieved the goals, one of which is to strengthen ties between the Philippines and the Soviet Union and this has been accomplished by us. Another important aspect of my visit was to see the results of restructuring in the country. I can see that it has created a positive influence in the resolution of some problems in Leningrad. Restructuring is not merely a slogan but a genuine force, Manglapus continued.

Raul Manglapus left the Soviet Union on 21 July and was seen off at the airport by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and other officials. Also present at the departure ceremony were USSR Ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov and the Philippine Ambassador to the USSR Juan Saez.

Shevardnadze-Hun Sen Moscow Talks Discussed

BK2307084989 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] On 21 July 1989, a meeting was held between Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister of the Soviet Union, and Comrade Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Cambodia who made a stop-over in Moscow.

During the meeting, the two sides paid particular attention to questions related to developments in the situation in Cambodia, particularly to the preparations for the international conference.

The comrade chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers informed the Soviet side of Cambodia's adopting a status of permanent neutrality.

On its part, the Soviet side expressed support for the initiative of the government of the State of Cambodia, which is aimed at national reconciliation and restoration of peace in Cambodia.

The comrade foreign minister of the Soviet Union noted that as a result of the three Indochinese countries' decision on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia before 30 September this year, a qualitatively new situation has now emerged around Cambodia and the practical prerequisites have been established for completing the settlement of the Cambodian problem. He noted the significance of further consistent efforts by the Cambodian parties, taking part in the dialogue, to advance the process of national reconciliation in Cambodia.

Comrades Shevardnadze and Hun Sen expressed the hope that it is in this manner that the talks between the Cambodian parties will be held in Paris at the end of this July.

They noted the need to move forward on the basis of the specific accord reached at the first and second Jakarta informal meetings and at previous bilateral and multilateral inter-Cambodian meetings.

The two sides confirmed that the Soviet Union and the State of Cambodia always favor the attainment of a most rapid all-embracing settlement of the Cambodian problem, which, in their view, will be facilitated by the holding of an international conference in Paris.

Based on the generally accepted principles that the Cambodian parties will resolve their country's internal affairs by themselves through political dialogue without any outside interference, Comrades Shevardnadze and Hun Sen expressed the conviction that the international conference will certainly pay particular attention to the problem's international aspect of which sufficient conditions for a settlement have been created.

They noted with satisfaction that on the main questions of the problem's international aspects, the various states concerned have had close or similar stances.

The two sides who met in Moscow on 21 July unanimously agreed that the international conference on Cambodia is also duty-bound to resolve such fundamental questions as the adoption of measures on not allowing a civil war or the restoration of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from that country; the halting of foreign military aid to all warring Cambodian sides; and of guaranteeing the status of Cambodia as an independent, neutral, and nonaligned state.

The establishment of an effective international mechanism to monitor and observe the withdrawal of foreign troops and the implementation of the various accords on the Cambodian settlement will certainly become one of the key subjects of the international conference.

Comrades Shevardnadze and Hun Sen expressed the firm conviction that a favorable outcome to an international conference on Cambodia will unfailingly serve as a positive factor in strengthening tendencies in Southeast Asia in the direction of establishing peace, stability, and mutual cooperation between countries of the region.

Comrade Shevardnadze expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to take part in any international conference on settling the Cambodian problem.

The meeting between Comrades Eduard Shevardnadze and Hun Sen in Moscow on 21 July proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual friendship.

Cambodia's Permanent Neutrality Endorsed

BK2407061589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Station observer Oleg Alekseyev's commentary]

[Text] The National Assembly of the State of Cambodia has solemnly issued a statement on the permanent neutrality of that country. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, Comrade Hun Sen informed his Soviet counterpart, Comrade Shevardnadze, of this declaration at their 21 July meeting in Moscow. Our station observer Oleg Alekseyev has the following comments:

The decision made by the Cambodian National Assembly has received mixed reactions abroad. Certain circles expressed concern that the decision could hamper talks—aimed at achieving a definitive, joint solution to the internal aspect of the Cambodian problem—between Phnom Penh and the Cambodian opposition. According to the CAMBODIAN NEWS AGENCY, SPK, the concept of the permanent neutrality of the State of Cambodia is that Cambodia will continue to firmly observe the principle of peaceful coexistence. The news agency added that Phnom Penh intends to expand its friendship and cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality and respect for national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. It will also adhere to the principle of noninterference in internal affairs and non-aggression, and will settle all disputes by peaceful means.

As such, we would like to ask what are the different views expressed by various personalities of the Cambodian opposition about the future role and status of Cambodia in the world community. To my knowledge, among the Cambodian factions there is no disagreement on a future Cambodia as a neutral, peaceful, and nonaligned state. It is within this context that Cambodia should adopt a

foreign policy of peaceful coexistence. I would like to point out that all these principles have received wide international endorsement, as well as the support of the Nonaligned Movement.

Phnom Penh further made clear that permanent neutrality means that Cambodia would not be engaged in any military alliance and would not allow any state to install military bases on its territory. In my opinion, the position adopted by Phnom Penh—a partner at the inter-Cambodian talks—cannot constitute an obstacle to the dialogue. In fact, it is very well known that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia has been a major stumbling block in the process of settling the conflict, and this view has also been expressed by the Cambodian opposition. Now, this issue essentially disappears from the agenda because the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is moving toward its definitive phase. By 30 September this year, Vietnamese combatants will completely abandon Cambodian territory.

Now, within the context of permanent neutrality, Phnom Penh declared that in the future, the presence of foreign troops would not be permitted in any case. Does this position contradict the conditions set by the Cambodian opposition? Moreover, together with the declaration of permanent neutrality, a basic law was also framed to prohibit the presence of foreign troops in Cambodia. Is this not another step toward a joint, sincere understanding among the Cambodian parties and toward a definitive settlement?

Near East & South Asia

Rocket Hits Trade Mission Building in Lebanon

LD2207094289 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Beirut July 22 TASS—A rocket registered a direct hit on the apartment wing of the building of the Soviet trade mission in Lebanon, causing considerable damage.

The mission's staff stayed in the basement until this morning. There were no casualties.

Shevardnadze Greets Syria on Ties Anniversary

JN2207070089 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT 22 Jul 89

["Text" of message from Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' on the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Syria and the Soviet Union—date not given]

[Text] Dear comrade honorable minister, please accept our heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the passage of 45 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic.

During those years, traditions of deep mutual respect, cordial confidence and satisfaction, and willingness to provide each other with support and backing, have been entrenched between our two countries.

The two peoples of the Soviet Union and Syria are united by their joint attempts to save humanity from the danger of annihilation in a raging nuclear catastrophe and by rebuilding relations between nations based on justice and peace.

In the Soviet Union, they cite the multifaceted cooperation in Soviet-Syrian relations, its effectiveness, and its mutual benefit based on the solid foundation of the 1980 treaty.

The joint struggle of the Soviet Union and Syria to find a Middle East settlement is undoubtedly considered a positive factor in the Middle East question. Deepening this influence will clearly play an important role in preparing the appropriate circumstances for solving the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I am confident that the friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria are destined to develop and be promoted in the future for the benefit of the two peoples, Soviet and Syrian, to create a future free of violence and nuclear weapons all over our globe as well as bring about peace and justice in the Middle East.

Foreign Minister's Envoy Tarasov on Mideast Ties

JN2307145489 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 22 Jul 89 p 28

[Text] Tunis, AL-ANBA'—Gennadiy Tarasov, the Soviet foreign minister's envoy to the Middle East, has expressed the opinion that the United States is interested in cooperating with his country to find a settlement to the Middle East crisis. He asserted that this issue will remain on the list of subjects to be discussed between the two sides.

However, Tarasov explained in an exclusive statement to AL-ANBA', his country and the United States cannot find a just and comprehensive solution on their own without the participation of all concerned parties. In this context, he placed great importance on the role that the EC can play.

Answering a question by AL-ANBA' on the Israeli Government's plan concerning holding elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Soviet official said that the so-called peace initiative proposed by the Israeli Government includes a number of points, including the idea of holding elections, but the government of the Soviet Union has not yet received details of this plan.

Tarasov explained that a Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration, met in the middle of last month with a U.S.

delegation led by Dennis Ross and discussed that plan. He pointed out that the U.S. side is convinced that the proposed elections will be democratic and free. He said: The U.S. Administration also failed to offer details of the idea and did not answer many questions concerning elections and their nature and whether they are related to the full settlement of the Palestine question. It also failed to answer questions such as who will elect whom? For what purpose? What are the main and necessary guarantees to secure the fairness of elections? And, what is the PLO's role in this scenario?

The Soviet envoy noted that, in principle, the PLO and the Arab states do not object to the idea of holding elections, but they refuse to hold them under the Israeli conditions. He expressed the opinion that this constitutes a sound and logical Palestinian and Arab position, and said: "He who proposed the initiative must explain it very clearly to the other sides and answer the questions raised about it."

Tarasov also spoke about the international peace conference and said that the conference enjoys broad international support. He pointed out that appropriate circumstances are now being formed to convene the conference and recalled the speech delivered by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during his Middle Eastern tour 5 months ago in which he presented a number of ideas and proposals relating to organizing the process to prepare for convening the conference.

The Soviet official expressed satisfaction over the positive development in the stands of the EC, which works to convene the international conference and prefers practical steps to hold immediate consultations among the UN Security Council five permanent member states.

Tarasov touched on the U.S. position toward convening the international conference. He explained that the Americans believe that the conference may play a useful role at a later time but they believe that circumstances are not yet ripe to convene it. He described the Israeli position in this regard as intransigent and said that Israel still rejects the whole idea. He revealed that many sides are now working to remove the obstacles blocking the road to convening the international conference. He stressed that the Soviet Union believes that this is the only means to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and that there is no other means to guarantee the achievement of a just and permanent peace in the region.

The Soviet official valued the statement issued by the EC during its recent meeting in the Spanish capital, Madrid. He referred to contacts, which he described as strong, between his country and member states of the EC, particularly Britain and France, in view of the fact that they are both permanent members of the UN Security Council. He expressed satisfaction over the stands adopted by these two countries and their efforts to begin immediate consultations among the UN Security Council five permanent members to convene the international conference.

Tarasov described the meeting he held with Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat last Wednesday as very friendly, serious, and lengthy and said the meeting included a large number of issues. He added that during the meeting, they exchanged viewpoints and discussed developments in the region and other events related to the Middle East crisis, in addition to the practical steps that will help in the mission to convene the international conference.

Answering a question on the initiatives offered by the PLO and whether these were enough, Tarasov emphasized his country's high appreciation of the practical approach pursued by the PLO under 'Arafat and described the Palestinian political initiative as a positive step.

The Soviet official expressed the opinion that the PLO did not offer any concessions; and, based on that, the Palestinian initiative was greatly supported on the international level, which shows that the Palestinian approach is correct. He also said that the PLO "has achieved great things by taking that step."

Answering a question on the nature of these things, especially since the other side still adheres to its stands, Tarasov said: When discussing foreign policy, we must pin great hopes on world public opinion's support. The European statement is clear, the United States began a dialogue with the PLO, and Israel is finding itself in international isolation.

However, he pointed out that these "gains" are not enough so far, but the developments toward achieving the Palestinian interests and what the PLO offered are considered a great and useful contribution to the peace process.

Regarding whether the Soviet Union will restore its diplomatic relations with Israel, Tarasov said that the time will come when relations between the two countries are restored. He said: In principle, nonexistence of diplomatic relations between states is something abnormal in our modern age. Due to certain circumstances, such relations do not exist between Moscow and Tel Aviv.

He explained that the Soviet position remains the same as it was in the past and referred to a statement made by President Mikhail Gorbachev in which he said that this issue can be reconsidered with the beginning of the international conference proceedings with the participation of Israel.

Concerning the possibility of restoring diplomatic relations between his country and Saudi Arabia, the Soviet official said that relations between the two countries date back to 1928 and expressed his country's readiness to

open an embassy in Riyadh when Saudi Arabia shows willingness for this. He said: We understand that the presence, or the lack of presence, of embassies is a question related to both sides' sovereignty. However, Moscow has no objection to restoring relations.

The final question we asked Tarasov concerned the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel and if this will tip the balance of power in favor of Israel. He explained that the majority of Jews who leave the Soviet Union go to the United States and Western Europe and that no more then seven percent of them arrive in Israel. He pointed out that his country is committed to international agreements concerning citizens' freedom of movement and that Moscow has to respect its commitments. He said that the nature of conflict in the Middle East makes emigree Jews prefer countries more stable and secure than Israel.

Views 'Arafat Meeting

LD2207122589 Kuwait KUNA in English 1044 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Kuwait, July 22 (KUNA)—Soviet Assistant Foreign Minister Gennadiy Tarasov [title as received] described the election plan of Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir as "mysterious".

In a statement to Kuwaiti daily AL-ANBA', published today, the Soviet official said that his country did not receive details of this plan neither from Israel nor from the United States.

He reiterated that restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet and the Zionist entity is linked to the convocation of an international conference to solve the Palestinian cause.

The Soviet envoy, who was talking to the paper following his meeting in Tunis with Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat last Wednesday, described the Palestinian peace initiative as positive and as having won wide international support, noting that the Palestine Liberation Organization did not make any concessions with this new move.

During his meeting with 'Arafat he delivered a message from the Soviet leadership.

Meanwhile, Tarasov expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to open an embassy in Riyadh, if Saudi Arabic wished so.

He affirmed that Moscow has no objection to restore diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia.

Car Bomb in Kabul District Kills 1, Injures 10

LD2107193189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1902 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, 21 Jul (TASS)—Terrorists from the Afghan anti-government gangs today committed a new crime against the residents of Kabul by activating an explosive device placed in a motor vehicle. According to Kabul Radio the explosion occurred in the capital's Khayrkhana district and resulted in 1 dead and up to 10 injured. A day earlier, there was an explosion at a playground in the same district of the Afghan city. Shrapnel from a mine laid by the extremists severed the hand of a small child. Another two children were also wounded.

'Extremists' Shell Kabul 22 Jul; 20 Killed

LD2207093989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0852 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, 22 Jul (TASS)—About 20 people died as a result of the latest shelling of the Afghan capital by extremists. Many people were taken to the hospital. A rocket fell next to a large number of people waiting in line at a bus stop in the city center.

Sub-Saharan Africa

USSR-Angola Commission Meeting Concludes

PM1207105389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] Luanda, 7 Jul—The routine 6th session of the Soviet-Angolan intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation and trade ended here today. The Soviet delegation at the session was headed by USSR Deputy Foreign Economic Relations Minister V.N. Burmistrov and the Angolan by Planning Minister A.E. da Silva.

The two sides discussed the state and development prospects of relations in the context of the long-term program for economic, technical, scientific, and commercial cooperation between the two countries for the period 1986-90 and the further outlook up to the year 2000. Special attention was devoted to increasing the efficacy of cooperation and to imparting upon it a characteristic of mutual advantage, taking into account the possibilities of each of the two countries. The participants mapped out cooperation priorities and decided to consider increasing supplies of Angolan coffee to the USSR on a compensation basis and making recourse to new forms of economic relations, including the setting up of joint enterprises in the spheres of the extraction of oil, quartz, and diamonds.

The Soviet side undertook to continue rendering cooperation to Angola in the running of power generation units; the restoration of bridges and tunnels; and the carrying out of geological prospection, topographic, and

geodesic work, medical assitance to the population, and the training of national cadres. At the end of the commission's work a joint cooperation protocol was signed covering the period until the commission's next meeting in Moscow in 1991 and also for the long-term outlook.

South Africa's Pik Botha Interview Cited

MB2207103289 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1915 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] South African Foreign Affairs Minister Roelof Botha has said in an interview with the Moscow weekly, "NOVOYE VREMYA, that the time for violence and apartheid has passed. He said people must negotiate in order to understand each other better. The interview was conducted by the publication's correspondent, who had traveled to Cape Town as the first Soviet journalist to interview the South African minister.

According to Mr Botha, Mikhail Gorbachev's book on restructuring was very interesting and realistic. The expressed himself in favor of equitable trade relations with all countries, including the Soviet Union. He added that if international sanctions could be lifted, South Africa would experience greater economic development.

At the same time, Mr Botha defended South Africa's regional policy, and attempted to accuse the ANC [African National Congress] of violence. In a later program, we will discuss this interview in greater detail.

East Europe

Poland's President Jaruzelski Interviewed

PM2107194589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski by PRAVDA's Boris Averchenko and TRYBUNA LUDU's Anna Pawlowska: "Under the Motto 'For Your and Our Restructuring'"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is a newspaper introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—People's Poland is 45 years old today. On the eve of the fraternal people's greatest national holiday—The Day of Rebirth—Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, who has just been elected president of the People's Republic of Poland, received Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA editorial board, and Anna Pawlowska, TRYBUNA LUDU political observer. He answered a number of questions. We publish the Polish leader's interview to the two fraternal newspapers.

[Averchenko, Pawlowska] You have once said that "in the world of socialism there are boats which must not be missed." Poland is marking the 45th anniversary of the birth of the Polish People's Republic. The assessment of this period from its very beginning up to the most recent years represents one of the spheres of political struggle in present-day Poland. At what stages of this development process was the PZPR dragging its feet? During which periods was it the motivating force of positive changes with respect to the people?

[Jaruzelski] The assessment of the past 45 years of People's Poland is the subject of acute political contraditions and will, unquestionably, remain so for a long time. Naturally, it would be a good thing if the arguments concerning this period became a matter for historians rather than than reflecting on current politics. However, that would be unrealistic. The debate around such a recent period which is fraught with consequences both for today and tomorrow cannot be closed so suddenly. Incidentally, every new generation will draw up its own list of questions on this topic.

Rejecting everything that has taken place during this period would be wrong and unfair, just like any other extreme. However, in psychological terms it is, at least partially, understandable as a reaction to previous, one-sided, "rosy" assessments of the past: After all, the pendulum, once it has swung to one extreme never stops midway but swings to the other extreme. It will take some time before these extremes disappear, emotions calm down, and the perspective necessary for a concrete, objective assessment is reached.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the assessment of the past 45 years is also affected by the problems of the present. Assessments of the past always pass through the prism of the present. The present means socioeconomic difficulties and a low living standard for most Poles.

In general, I believe that it would be profoundly dishonorable to question our people's tremendous achievements and their sociocivic progress since World War II. After all, it is embodied in the day-to-day honest labor of millions of Polish men and women.

Replying to the second part of your question, I would like to say that the PZPR did indeed drag its feet on several occasions, that it was guilty of bureaucratic cumbersomeness, and that it did not react promptly enough to new phenomena. But at the same time, it also spearheaded changes, for instance, immediately after the war when the left-wing forces managed to win over to their side a considerable section of the people and present them with a bold and interesting program of restoration, progress, and development. Also, the PZPR has nothing to be ashamed of with respect to what it achieved after 1956 in the process of destalinization which was far-reaching in comparison with some other parties. I could cite many more examples of the party's creative activity in the service of the people.

At the same time it must be noted that the PZPR committed mistakes not only when it was dragging its feet and sinking into stagnation, but also when it succumbed to voluntarist "wishful thinking" and painted vistas of the future which it could not deliver.

Past experience has taught us modesty in assessing changes as favorable with respect to the people because often it is impossible to state with absolute certainty whether specific changes are favorable or not. Some things which seemed correct to us—for instance, the focus on heavy industry in the fifties and sixties, and even later—are causing us serious troubles today in connection with the restructuring of the economy. Progress and regression are sometimes knitted together like Siamese twins.

However, most importantly, the past 45 years have created a firm social and material basis. Their greatest achievement are the guarantees of Poland's security and the inviolability of its borders which are based on firm alliances. Finally, the fact that both the good and the bad experience which we have gained, and above all the conclusions which follow from this experience, have enabled us to resolutely embark today on the path of national accord, reforms, and socialist renewal.

[A rchenko, Pawlowska] The PZPR Central Committee 10th Plenum was certainly an event of exceptional importance.It paved the way for the roundtable and for the elaboration of a new formula for an agreement and for collaboration between different political forces, including the parliamentary opposition. Does defeat of the coalition side in the election not cause the party to doubt whether the chosen course is the right one? Are there no doubts about the pace and scale of the reforms? On the other hand, might not the election success and the extent of public support make the opposition too greedy or too ambitious?

[Jaruzelski] The 10th plenum demonstrated that there is a consciousness in the PZPR ranks of the need to carry out profound changes. There is also a widespread awareness that to continue to postpone radical reforms of the political system would be to make this operation even more difficult in the future. Not to mention the fact that the state organism—and the party organism for that matter-might not be able to take it.

Indeed, there are comrades who have doubts about the scale and, particularly, the pace of the changes. The election defeat can only have deepened these doubts. But it would be naive to believe that the only source of resistance is trepidation about influence, privileges, and so on. The older PZPR members have bitter experience; they can remember many turning points and know how some of them ended up. So one must try to understand their wariness and their fears about the equilibrium between continuity and change being disrupted. The only things that convince are facts—such as successful reforms, the stability of the state, and genuine national concord.

As for the other side, the danger of unbridled jubilation in connection with the election victory exists. This is understandable even in psychological terms. That is the source of appetite and ambition. But the ruling coalition is in what one might call the happy position of by no means expecting the opposition to renounce this ambition. We are keen, in fact, that it should not only want to participate in government, but share the responsibility with us.

[Averchenko, Pawlowska] Polish-Soviet relations have been through various phases, including painful and troubled ones. The elimination of so-called "blank spots," albeit very important, alone does not create proper grounds for good-neighborliness and fraternal cooperation, which our parties are so keen to have and which are so essential to our states and peoples. How can Soviet restructuring and Polish renewal heal past wounds and create a new brand of Polish-Soviet relations?

[Jaruzelski] There was once a binding principle: Do not scratch wounds, or they will never heal. But they were unable to form scabs because they were not healing properly. It should be a natural process. It must be remembered that it will drag on as long as our renewal and Soviet restructuring, perceived as the creation of a new functional social, political, and economic order, fail to make a bigger impact in the social sphere, in improving our peoples' living standards. People weighed down by the burden of daily life will become absorbed in history and rake over the past in their memories.

The best medicine against the ills of the past is all that is good and creative today. Above all, a present accompanied by the slogan "For your and for our restructuring!" will make our people open up more to one another. So it is necessary to eliminate everything that is artificially limiting contacts between people and hampering mutual ties based on the broadest possible public base. Were it not for material barriers, many of the problems connected with this would cease to be. This is further proof that spirital and programmatic openness is not enough if it cannot find solid socioeconomic support.

Of course, a great deal can still be achieved through political decisions and actions. This is proven by the processes that were started and deepened as a result of the signing of the joint declaration on cooperation a little over 2 years ago. They opened up a new chapter in Polish-Soviet friendship. Since then one might say there has been an whole era in relations between our countries, particularly in the area that determines the so-called human dimension. It is an example of good, effective therapy. It is up to our people to do the rest. They have been ready for this for a long time.

[Averchenko, Pawlowska] The new thinking in world politics, particularly the new concept of building relations in Europe, is meeting with approval and recognition. Our two countries and all the European socialist states have contributed to this. In what way do you regard the changes taking place in socialism and in the socialist countries' community, on the one hand, and the development of intra-European dialogue and building of a new order on our continent as being interdependent?

[Jaruzelski] The link between the transformations taking place in socialism and the development of European dialogue is obvious to any observer of the political sphere between the Atlantic and the Urals.

For us, it means addressing many universal values created by European civilization and culture, which in the past have often been deemed unsuitable for, or even harmful to, socialism. It was to some extent a departure from our own traditions as left-wing forces, which are an integral part of the humanitarian European heritage.

There have been comments in the West to the effect that by returning to them we are abandoning the principles of our system. Those who make such a claim have little understanding of the pedigree of socialist ideas.

We, of course, reject models which—since they represented an integrated social order prescribed from on high—were not a forever binding paradigm for the development of our countries because they simply could not be such a paradigm. We do not reject the distinctiveness, the wealth that is enshrined in socialist ideas for the very reason that we want to be an integral part of the common European home. There are no contradictions in this. On the contrary, there is a close link here between our changes and the elimination of divisions, and rapprochement and integration of the European community.

[Averchenko, Pawlowska] We are conducting this conversation jointly for Soviet and Polish readers. As is known, you spent part of your youth during World War II in the Soviet Union and it was the same for many Poles. You experienced both the grief of deportation and the joy of donning a Polish uniform on Soviet soil. Five years ago, at the unveiling of the monument to Soviet-Polish brotherhood-in-arms you said fine words about "our Ryazan," where you obtained your first officer's rank. Could you look back on those years from the standpoint of today and say a few words to readers on both sides of the border?

[Jaruzelski] I think that my feelings when I turned up in Altay Kray with my family were no different from those experienced by the hundreds of thousands of my compatriots who were deported to the interior of the USSR. It is not easy for anyone when they are sent to a foreign land against their will, thousands of kilometers from their home.

I was a young man then. I found myself in a world that was totally different from the one in which I had grown up. I lost my father and I worked as a laborer, my longest period being as a lumberjack. But I absorbed everything I saw around me. Therefore, I learned to respect ordinary Soviet people and value their exceptional selflessness and simple humanity. Of course, I met other people too, but even then I felt that Stalinism was like a shell which could suppress neither socialist values, nor the Russians' national traits. This enabled me to avoid reflecting on grievances. Anyway, I consider it undignified to parade even the most severe personal experiences.

I am not the first in our family to think like that. My grandfather, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in whose honor I was named, took part in the 1863 Polish uprising. Then he was exiled to distant Siberia for 10 years. But he returned home without a feeling of hostility toward the Russian people.

You recalled what I said in Ryazan. It is indeed the city which was the home of the first Polish officers' academy and I will always remember it. I will never forget the emotions I felt when I put on the Polish uniform for the first time. Nearly all my comrades had been exiled, sent to camps, imprisoned in their time. But it was there that we again became citizens of the Rzeczpospolita [Polish Republic—in exile], students, and then officers of the Polish Army, which, together with the Soviet Army, reached Berlin, liberating peoples from the fascist aggressors on the way. Perhaps no one who has not experienced it personally can fully appreciate what kind of a turning point it was in our lives.

What can I say to Soviet readers to prevent it from sounding bombastic or banal? One thing perhaps: No matter how many revolutions the wheel of history makes, the memory of those years, of the good and the bad, of the joint struggle and joint sufferings will remain forever an unforgettable chapter in the history of our people and will aid their mutual trust, respect, and friendship.

Hungary's Nyers Interviewed on Domestic Reforms

PM2307183189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by F. Lukyanov: "Hungary on the Path of Reforms"; date and place of interview not given; first five paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Budapest— As it happens, I asked Comrade Rezso Nyers for an interview when he was still a state minister—as well as a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee Politburo. The actual conversation took place after the MSZMP Central Committee June Plenum, which elected Rezso Nyers party chairman.

Rezso Nyers, 66, is an experienced politician and an economist with a reputation that is not confined to the ranks of the party. His political experience is vast. Printworker, active member of the social democratic and then, after unification with the Communists, Hungarian Working People's Party, commissar extraordinary for food supply in J. Kadar's first government, minister of finance, member of the MSZMP Central Committee since 1957, and member of the Politburo from 1967

through 1975. R. Nyers' name is more often than not identified in Hungary with the 1968 economic reform. He is seen as the ideologist, the "father" of the reform.

In the mid-seventies, owing to the suspension of the reform in the country, R. Nyers was demoted to the "second rank": He took charge of the Institute of Economics. The National Assembly deputies put him in charge of a standing commission. Nyers returned fully to the political arena in May 1988 at the Hungarian National Party Conference.

Rezso Nyers is a consistent advocate of our restructuring. Addressing a news conference in Budapest recently, he stressed that "anti-Sovietism today simply indicates political stupidity."

At the start of the conversation I asked R. Nyers to talk about the processes connected with political reform in the country, about the party's role in these conditions, and about its attitude to the social-political movements that have emerged in Hungary.

[Nyers] It seems to me that the decisions of our party's Central Committee June plenum will have a favorable effect on the course of the political reform in the country. The plenum shaped the MSZMP's position on the whole range of questions—for example, the position at the national roundtable talks.

As is known, we are now preparing to switch to a multiparty system, and in this transitional period the development of reforms demands the adoption of many laws. But there was the following dilemma: To what extent can a parliament in which around 80 percent of the deputies are MSZMP members (the rest being nonparty people) be regarded as representative, when other parties have already been effectively formed and are operating in the country? Therefore, in the spirit of democracy, we agreed to transfer the discussion of very important laws—the law on parties, on the constitutional court, on the president of the Republic—to the roundtable talks. The laws will now be examined by the National Assembly after they have first been agreed on by all the roundtable participants. I believe that the plenum decisions will help the MSZMP delegation at the talks to operate more flexibly and freely.

One might call the decision to create the kind of political unity in the party that takes into account the existence of different trends and platforms in the party ranks an equally important result of the plenum. By expanding intraparty democracy, the party as a whole is becoming more capable of adopting progressive compromises and agreed decisions.

Finally, in the long-term area, the plenum made a number of changes which, it seems to us, eliminated the danger of a split in the party, when you consider that opposing positions had emerged on certain political questions. As a result of the changes the MSZMP will be able to represent a more substantial political force in all spheres of Hungarian society. It seems to me that the plenum marked the end of the period in which the MSZMP was on the defensive, under pressure from often just criticism of past mistakes. The completion of this period in the party's history will inevitably have a positive effect on Hungarian society as a whole, because the MSZMP is still playing a definite part in the political and spiritual spheres.

[Lukyanov] In the past few months several platforms have been established within the framework of the MSZMP. For example, reform groups, advocating more radical transformations inside and outside the party, have appeared and become widespread. At the same time a platform has been established under the name "Marxist unity," which is sometimes described as traditionalist. Only recently the "unity for the renewal of the MSZMP" movement made itself felt. Do you regard this as a natural process in conditions of the democratization of the party, and is it not dangerous from the viewpoint of party unity?

[Nyers] When the process of the internal democratization of the MSZMP was starting we knew and were prepared for the fact that people with their own particular "individuality" would appear in the leadership and that platforms would appear—which, in my view, is perfectly natural. If the period of divergence were to continue, that would be a different matter—then, in my view, there could be serious obstacles to the work of the party.

We have now already analyzed to a significant extent the historical path covered by the MSZMP over past decades and agreement has been reached on the majority of questions. Naturally, problems still remain. The most criticial element is the assessment of the events of 1956. It was necessary to assess both the political leaders of that period, who gave their lives for the role they had played, and the many sacrifices that were made in order to restore order in the country. In their assessment of the past both the party and the government have proclaimed a policy that serves national reconciliation. The dispute that divided the nation and caused disarray in the party ranks is by and large now coming to an end. We pay tribute to those who were Communists and wanted to carry out reforms, for example Imre Nagy and his entourage. Without the restoration of historical justice the party cannot strengthen society's confidence in it.

In all likelihood the upcominmg MSZMP Congress in the fall will examine the historical commission's report, which will reflect all the periods and cycles in the party's life and the international and national aspects of particular events.

[Lukyanov] In your view, in what way is the party's role in society changing in the process of the evolution of political reform? Increasingly one hears that in the new

conditions the party has not just to declare its leading role, but also constantly demonstrate it by real action, by taking the initiative in the solution of problems....

[Nyers] Sure, things are difficult for the MSZMP at the moment. One increasingly hears, not only from the opposition but also from ordinary people, the question: Does the MSZMP actually have the "fundamental right" to a permanent leading role in society?

It seems to me that this question becomes inevitable at a certain stage of social development. Frankly, we were not prepared for its appearance today, in 1989. For instance, in 1986 we had no inkling at all that the question was going to be raised. To all appearances, the following factors had come into play. The Hungarian economy was in critical condition, mainly as a result of foreign debt, a state budget deficit, and an obsolete industrial production structure whose potential was almost exhausted and which was more typical of the early 20th century than of the end of it. One reason why the economy was in such a state was the patent bankruptcy of the investment policy and the corresponding ideology, which had failed to react in time to changes in scientific-technical progress.

The conditions of glasnost are also making their mark on political processes. Once, in the Kadar era, the level of glasnost was higher than in the Soviet Union in the Brezhnev era; then came the Gorbachev era with its democratization and glasnost, which was for Hungary a powerful stimulus to the democratization of social-political life. I once called this effect, which was perhaps more powerfully manifested in our country than in other countries, the "Gorbachev effect."

Now a few words about the functions of the party and the state. We do not have direct MSZMP interference in government affairs; the party elaborates only a strategic line. We settled this question pretty quickly, which is the way such issues should be settled, in my view. Experience shows that reforms, at least a significant proportion of them, must be carried out resolutely and rapidly; only then will they be effective. When divided into a multitude of stages, reforms inevitably get bogged down in inertia.

The separation of party and state functions does not mean that the one is in opposition to the other; it is a rational division of labor. The party feeds the government with political concepts and the government converts them into economic, cultural, and defense measures. It remains responsible to parliament for its own decisions. If necessary it is parliament that calls the government to account, not the Central Committee. Tne Central Committee comes in when problems occur between government and parliament—when, for example, the question of a new government arises and personnel have to be proposed. But if the government, in its work, is constantly citing instructions from the party, responsibility is eroded and there is nothing for parliament to monitor. When the government is independent it understands its responsibility and, if necessary, will resign, enabling others to do what it was unable to do.

Thus, the party's role in society is changing, which makes it possible to switch from a party state to a rule-of-law state.

[Lukyanov] As is know, the Hungarian Working People's Party—forerunner of the MSZMP—was formed by uniting the Communist and social democratic parties. Today one increasingly hears references to this fact and, as a result, the view that the traditions of social democracy must be developed in the MSZMP's activity. At the recent MSZMP Central Committee plenum there was confirmation of the party's adherence to these and other traditions. How do you envisage the implementation of these two components in the MSZMP's future activity?

[Nyers] In its work the MSZMP does indeed rely simultaneously on the experience of the Communist and social democratic parties and takes into account not only their historical traditions, but present-day achievements as well. It seems to us that there is much that can be learned from the social democrats in the matter of solving economic problems. It is interesting also to examine the way social democrats tackle the problems of the relationship between ideology and politics. An unbiased political opinion is a priority with them when it comes to studying problems and seeking ways of solving them. Of course, this does not mean that ideology plays no role in social democrats' activity. It does play a role, but not as all-embracing as in the case of the communist parties, which have been overly ideologized for decades.

What I would single out in the communist parties' work is first and foremost the resolute action. Communist parties have traditionally had the very poor, badly off strata of the population as their base. The social democrats, on the other hand, have had skilled workers and the middle strata. This also merits our attention, since in order to be able to carry out reforms any party must have a broad social base and, I would say, become a people's party.

[Lukyanov] You were instrumental in the 1968 economic reform in Hungary, which was one of the first socialist countries to embark on large-scale changes in its national economy. At the moment the vast majority of socialist countries are conducting economic reforms. What can you say about the Hungarian reform now, a little over 20 years after it began?

[Nyers] The first wave of reforms in Hungary began, in fact, back in 1953-1956 and affected mainly agrarian problems. The most pressing issues for Hungarian agriculture at that time were low purchase prices, the practice of essentially requisitioning grain by force, and and the unpopular acceleration of collectivization of the countryside. Then the question arose as to who should be at the center of agricultural production. According to

Imre Nagy, who was prime minister at the time and had done a lot of work on agrarian problems during the period he spent as an emigre in the USSR, the middle peasant should be at the center, and the party's entire policy should be geared to creating favorable conditions for the middle peasant's work both on the family farm and in the cooperative, which would be given its character by the middle peasant with his high production standards. It must be said that the MSZMP went on to adopt this concept of agricultural development and many of its successes are due to this very fact. But Imre Nagy borrowed a great deal from N.I. Bukharin. I remember very well that, when the Hungarian Communist emigres returned home from the Soviet Union and the discussion of agrarian issues began, it was decided to carry out collectivization, but taking into account the negative experience of forcible colllectivization in the USSR. The practical outcome was different.

The agrarian issue was the key issue of the reform, and it set things in motion in other sectors too through a system of taxes and pricing. At the end of 1956 the overhauled MSZMP continued the agrarian reform: Compulsory supplies (requisitioning) were abolished and purchase prices for agricultural products were raised. The beginning of the sixties saw the so-called second collectization, but now on a purely voluntary basis. Once the food issue—an exceedingly delicate one as far as the population was concerned—had been more or less solved, it was easier to implement the reform in the other sectotrs while maintaining the proper balance.

The second wave of reforms began in the mid-sixties. On 1 January 1968 the entire Hungarian economy switched to new management principles: independent enterprises and economic accountability. This was the difference between the Hungarian reform and the Kosygin reform of 1965, which was generally similar to the Hungarian, but was planned only for industry and did not reach the "critical point"—independent enterprises—which the economist Liberman had proposed in his celebrated article. It must be said that the reform was also suspended here in Hungary, in 1972. In 1974 negative trends began to develop, coinciding with the energy crisis and the oil price explosion. Progress continued, though, in agriculture, but the same cannot be said of industry.

Of course, the reform, despite all its positive aspects, had shortcomings too. For example, the development of market relations did not extend at the time to the sphere of capital, securities, and manpower. Now that we have entered the phase of the third wave of reform we have to accomplish those things that were not brought to fruition before.

[Lukyanov] In your recent book "Quest and Reform" you wrote that you view the socialist countries' development not as a marching military unit in which everyone is in step, but as a group of tourists in which each member of the group has the opportunity to stop, look around, and think. Yet we are all members of the same community. What is your view of cooperation among the socialist countries, primarily in the economic sphere?

[Nyers] As I see it, the way out of the situation, in which the differences between the various countries' economic mechanisms are so great, is to develop bilateral ties first and foremost and to create common economic structures of some kind—for example, joint ventures and free trade zones. A carefully considered switch to dollar transactions in economic relations, in particular between Hungary and the Soviet Union, would be a positive move. It would would help to connect the national economies to the world market more effectively.

[Lukyanov] Another, final question if you would allow me. How do you see Hungary's immediate future and how great are the MSZMP's chances in the next election which, to all appearances, will be held on a multiparty basis?

[Nyers] In the next few years we have to overcome the basic difficulties and solve the most serious problems. I believe that by 1991 the stabilization program adopted in 1987 will be carried out. It will take another 5 years to change the structure of industrial production, which is, I must say, a slow and rather painful process. After that it will be easier, I hope.

As for the MSZMP's chances in the general election, everything will depend on the extent to which we are able, in the party's policy, to express the interests of the nation, the interests of the country as a whole.

Hungary's Grosz, Nyers To Visit 24-25 Jul

LD2107153889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul (TASS)—At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, the party's general secretary, will pay a working visit to the USSR on 24 and 25 July of this year.

West Europe

General Yazov To Begin UK Visit 25 Jul

LD2407102689 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Anglo-Soviet dialogue has become much more dynamic in recent years, Soviet Defence Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov told TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy on the eve of his official four-day visit to Britain that begins on Tuesday [25 July].

Yazov described Anglo-Soviet relations as an important element of European and world politics. He stressed that the recent summit in London had given a new impetus to the dialogue. "Talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher promoted the consolidation of trust

and mutual understanding, the expansion of opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation," Yazov pointed out. According to the defence minister, the visit of a Soviet military delegation will become another step in this direction.

He recalled that Anglo-Soviet military contacts are of long standing. "During World War II our two countries were allies and fought against Nazism, our common enemy. Soviet people remember it well," he stressed.

Yazov said that in a little more than a month it would be 50 years since the beginning of World War II which had brought much suffering to humanity. The defeat of fascism and militarism inspired people with hope that it was the last war. "We are duty-bound to do our utmost to make this hope come true, especially because the existence of nuclear weapons would inevitably turn another world war, if it breaks out, into a universal catastrophe," he said.

"It is no secret that the stands of our two countries on a number of major problems differ, and sometimes rather seriously," Yazov pointed out. In his opinion, this refers, in the first place, to the assessment of the role played by nuclear weapons in modern conditions. "At the same time, our approaches to the solution of many international political, economic and humanitarian problems are often similar or identical. Anyway, there exist real opportunities for expanding the sphere of our mutual understanding by joint efforts."

"The Soviet Union is proving with deeds its allegiance to the ideal of ridding humanity of the war threat through the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and a radical reduction of conventional armaments," the defence minister stressed. "In the process of the realisation of our defence doctrine we are taking major practical steps aimed at unilaterally reducing our Armed Forces and transforming them along the lines of defence."

In the opinion of Yazov, the visit of the Soviet military delegation will promote the growth of trust between the two countries, trust which serves as a catalyst of the all-European process and promotes the settlement of problems in the interests of universal security and peace.

Chervov Receives French Senate Delegation 21 Jul
LD2107211489 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, head of a department of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, has described a dynamic development of military contacts between the USSR and Western countries in the past several years as a significant contribution to a political dialogue, to detente, to the lessening of military rivalry and the creation of a climate of confidence among states. He met today with a delegation of the Commission on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Armed Forces of the French Senate led by its president Jean Lecaneut.

Some questions which cannot be resolved on a political level are often settled in a dialogue of military leaders, General Chervov continued. Of course, mutual understanding does not cover all the problems. But we should continue working, because a dialogue is better than confrontation. General Chervov stressed the Soviet Union's readiness to further develop military contacts and expressed confidence that they would gain in scope and their effectiveness would grow.

Jean Lecaneut said that members of the French delegation represented various sections in the political life of France, but they are unanimous in their opinion that the disarmament idea should be put into practice and bring concrete results. The head of the French delegation expressed satisfaction over a successful development of French-Soviet relations, including military ones.

Answering questions of the guests, General Chervov told them about what has been done and is now being done in the Soviet Union in the sphere of the reduction of the Armed Forces and armaments, the reduction of military spendings, and the conversion of the arms-manufacturing production. He pointed out that the Soviet military doctrine was now given defensive orientation. The Soviet Union's political commitments are supported by concrete actions.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Supreme Soviet on Mine Strike

LD2407104789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0640 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Opening speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Permit me to announce that the morning sitting of the Supreme Soviet session open.

I think that we will act in the following way: Before going to the main agenda, we will return to our current topic, because evidently this is the very issue that our Supreme Soviet session—whichever issues it might resolve—cannot leave without focusing attention beyond the field of its vision.

What can one say to describe the present situation? At its center remain the events connected with the miners' strike in our country's coal regions. The situation this morning remains as it was yesterday, which I spoke about in my speech. One may only add that virtually everywhere the work by the commissions and the center, with the participation of the miners' representatives and the strike committees, has led to the fact that in all regions joint protocols now have been agreed on, reflecting, on the basis of constructive and intense work, the issues that require a solution. And one can divide them conventionally. If one does so chronologically, then there is a first group of issues that must be decided in the immediate future, in the next few days, and then there is another group of issues that requires further joint work, study, analysis, preparation of documents, governmental discussion, and subsequent discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Well, here I have in front of me one of these finished protocols, signed by Comrades Slyunkov, Voronin, and Shalayev, on the one side, and Comrade (Avaliyani), chairman of the Kuzbass strike committee, and his deputies, Comrades Rudolf and Gerald. I brought it with me. It is what they presented. There are 35 points in this document. Indeed, here are issues that demand—and they are already being resolved—demand resolution in a short time. Other issues here: There are instructions, for instance the first Kemerovo point, that the Kemerovo Oblast soviet executive committee should prepare by 1 October 1989 a proposal to transfer the Kemerovo Oblast from 1 January 1990 to regional financial autonomy [khozraschet], and for the USSR Council of Ministers to examine these proposals and after working through them to present them to the USSR Council of Ministers, subsequently to be presented by 1 November 1989 to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is an illustration of what we are talking about. This, of course, demands, in general, seriously working through such issues.

Or, the second point: to grant full economic and legal independence to the enterprises of the Kuzbass, the mines and open pits, in accordance with the law on the state enterprise; in the resolution of this issue, to devote special importance to the coal industry enterprises; to direct the Ministry of the Coal Industry to reorganize the existing associations into different types of associations and other voluntary forms of organizations and administrations; to carry out this work by 1 January 1990, extensively using various forms of ownership of the means of production: state, cooperative, lease, joint-stock, and others; the Kemerovo Oblast soviet executive committee to organize a study of a tax system on the income of enterprises and organizations in the oblast; and the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry to work out this issue for all enterprises, with a view to introducing a new tax system from January 1990 as an experiment.

Thus, I have read two points. There are points that chronologically belong... [pauses] that I would say have... [pauses] They are, I would say, clear, and either decisions have been adopted on them or they should be adopted in the near future. Actually, documents of this description may now be considered prepared and signed in all the regions.

Once more, I want to say that notwithstanding their demanding nature, at the foundation of these proposals from the miners there is common sense and realism, and people have been acting responsibly. And it is this that has made it possible to arrive at such agreed documents, which now must be laid as the basis for the work of both central departments and local ones, now at this stage, when these documents must be studied in the government with the participation of all central departments. Then they must—in so far as they concern the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and there is a lot here which concerns the Supreme Soviet—they must then be presented to the Supreme Soviet.

Well, there are some issues which, as I have already said, have to be settled even before 1 August, for example regarding work regimes, issues concerning night and evening work, days off, and a number of other similar points. Thus, I would say that as a result of the generally responsible actions and constrctive joint work of the center and of the labor kollectivs of the mines, the situation has changed for the better. It still remains tense.

I do not want to speak for the moment about what follows from it. I am noting what is present today. And quite a lot more work, joint work, will be needed to ensure that all the miners' kollektivs become involved in what we are doing. The economy has been seriously hit. We must now act vigorously and productively. Incidentally, the miners have also said this, that they will do everthing to fill it in as far as possible, though calculations show that it is too late to completely make up the losses that have been allowed to occur. It cannot be done.

The Kuzbass, Karaganda, and Rostovugol are now working, as is probably half or more than half of the Donbass. In Donetysk, our mining comrades want their documents, which the commission has drawn up jointly with them, to be made known to the Supreme Soviet, and they support those documents. I feel that a lack of confidence has arisen among the people in the organizations that are associated with their activities. They want the Supreme Soviet to know this and express its support for the agreed documents that have been drawn up.

The situation is the same in Vorkutaugol and Untaugol. The agreements have been prepared, and I am told that the comrades have asked the miners—I think here.... [unidentified person whispers a prompt] Comrade Lushnikov has instructions from them to hand these documents to the Supreme Soviet here. We will no doubt be giving him a chance to speak.

Well comrades, all in all I must say that we are emerging from a very severe crisis—a very severe crisis. Perhaps this is the most serious test our country ever has faced in all 4 years of perestroyka. Why, do you ask? After all, there has been Chernobyl, there have been major... [changes thought] there have been various other misfortunes; nonetheless, I am singling this out today as the most serious and most difficult.

I think you will agree that our perestroyka and our policy will live and operate. It will produce results despite all the difficulties and the trials that we are going through during the stage of perestroyka, especially the present stage when we are implementing our policy in a specific form in life, in the economy, in the political sphere, in the cultural sphere, in the party, in the public organizations, and everywhere. It is particularly important for us now to have understanding and support. It is two and three times more important than was the case during the first, during the preceding stages. Because it is the most difficult stage now, and support and understanding from the working class—the leading force of our society—are all the more important.

In this sense, what has taken place during the past few days in the coal regions of the country has shown, and is proof, that the workers do have serious observations to make with regard to the way in which our perestroyka is being implemented. This they have said, as is always the case when the working class resolutley sets about doing something. Therefore, everywhere, in all departments, in all structures involved in the governing of our country, in all public organizations, and in labor collectives, we must hear this and comprehend it. On the one hand, from this flows the most direct and natural conclusion, the obvious conclusion, that we must act more resolutely in implementing the reform, perestroyka, and primarily the economic reform. On the other hand, we must draw the conclusion that all links in governing and leading the country must function in such a way that dialogue is constantly conducted with the working people, that all questions are examined in good time, and that they are resolved, because often—and this also applies to this most serious conflict which has assumed an all-Union scale, which has indeed assumed a particular form of political crisis in the country—these issues were knocking on the door and burst out in that acute form because either there or somewhere else, at the center or locally, or in the industry, the proper reaction did not take place at the proper time to those issues that had already come to a head.

Comrades, I said yesterday and I can repeat it today—very bluntly—that I am convinced that we have to draw this conclusion. We have to operate more actively now, because the resolution of issues in such forms, by means of a strike, will be the undoing of our entire cause, the great cause of perestroyka and renewal which we have started. Because even if this strike persisted only in the mining regions, in the coal producing regions, if it did not even embrace other industries but continued, then that would create the kind of situation in which the metallurgical enterprises could find themselves tomorrow, in a most difficult situation, and they have already found themselves in such. What do we mean by metallurgy? The whole of machine-building. This is the bread of machine-building. It is clear to everyone just what machine-building is. But it is not just that; there is electric power generation. And what is electric power generation? It is everything. So, of course, I know that the miners also understand this and so they acted decisively and sharply, but at the same time they also acted constructively, moreover working day and night with the commission to find solutions and end this acute phase more quickly. So in my address yesterday, several times I stressed understanding of this responsibility on the part of the miners.

So, this is not the way, but in order for issues to be resolved, all the structures for the government of society must operate energetically, as I have already said, conducting a constant dialogue with our people and finding solutions.

Of course, one could also put it this way: Fine, we can operate. That is clear, we can operate. But today, let us suppose something like this. Something is difficult to contemplate, but let us assume it so to speak; everyone has put forth their demands. So, comrades, the situation in society was such, and this is how we assessed it. As a result, we reached the conclusion that so many problems had piled up in society that perestroyka was necessary, renewal was necessary, serious changes were necessary, other work was needed, other results were needed, other productivity was needed, and so on and so forth. That was why we started perestroyka, in order to eliminate these problems. But I think that not one of us ever, at any time, supposed that we would discover these problems and assess them today and solve them all tomorrow. We must solve them by increasing our opportunities, along the paths of reform and by activating and dynamizing the whole of society, primarily the economy. That indeed is what I am talking about when I say that any issue—any problem which is now troubling people—must be examined, that clarity

must be introduced on each problem, on each problem—when and within which time scale it should be resolved. The main thing is that all those practical issues, vital, daily issues, must be resolved urgently.

So, there you are, that is the situation. We are emerging from it, but the situation still is tense.

For a description, clearly it must be said that the situation in Abkhaziya—something which also troubles us—in recent days became very acute. But because of the great amount of work done by the party organization in Georgia—with the participation of and and the dialogue with all the working people of all nationalities and with the participation of labor collectives and party and local soviet bodies, as well as the intelligentsia—the situation has now returned to normal. What is important for the situation in Abkhaziya is the fact that a very active, friendly, human dialogue, a conversation, is taking place there among everyone inhabiting this autonomous republic. I have in mind that during these days many meetings, conversations and talks, and exchanges of views are being held between Georgians and Abkhaziyans. [indistinct interjection from floor] But no doubt you will take the floor and say it then. In connection with the fact that the situation was very acute, and during that time not everyone took a position that would promote the ending of the conflict and the normalization of the situation, matters relating to cadres have been examined and resolved on the basis of discussion and everyone's agreement.

But there are echoes in Tbilisi, where today the situation has worsened and become more acute than it was a few days ago. Even in that [pauses] there are instances today of disruption in the work of transport. I think that in this case, too, the leaders of the republic, acting jointly with the working people within the framework of political dialogue, will also remove this tension which is taking place. Of course, much still remains to be done by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regarding confiscation of weapons, of which a great many are in the hands of the population. So, noting here, too, the changes for the better that have taken place, it should be said that it is necessary to continue and act here in order to fully normalize the situation. That is what I wanted to describe [corrects himself] I wanted to report by way of information. Comrades, I wanted to describe the present situation, keeping in mind, of course, the most acute points. Of course, this applies to just one certain section of our life but the section that today disturbs all of us. We would like all this to get back to its normal routine now.

But I do not think that I would have said it all if I had concluded my information here. Comrades, we still have far reaching conclusions and assessments to make, although we are already drawing certain lessons from these situations as we go along and we are taking concrete steps to act in support of consolidating and normalizing the situation and preserving and continuing the development of perestroyka.

Well then, if I am going to speak, then these recent events in several of the country's coal basins... [changes thought] Why in several and not all? Because some of the coal basins continued working although they announced and expressed their views and these too have been taken up for examination, but some mining collectives continued working. Comrades, in general these events showed just how much the need for the whole of our work—both in the center and in the localities—to turn to face daily needs and concern for the satisfaction of the demands of our people, demands which are sometimes very simple and humdrum, has gathered head.

But I will especially say straight out that one main conclusion arises from this situation, a conclusion that we must reach and by which we must be guided in our subsequent actions. I think that this is also a conclusion for the Supreme Soviet. It is perfectly obvious that the fulfilment of several demands is connected with improving the operation of the central bodies and with eliminating all sorts of bureaucratic obstacles along the road of reform. In this industry, for example, and probably workers' collectives in other industries are also talking about this, they stand on the road of perestroyka and hinder things. Indeed, they hinder our economy from emerging from a difficult situation and from becoming more effective and dynamic and bearing other results which could be or will be used in the interests of improving peoples' lives.

So then, surely it is clear that the reason for the strikes lies in many things, including the fact that the Ministry of the Coal Industry is trying, or at least has until now—and I think this was the area in which it received its strongest lesson—to resolve all the issues from above or in intermediate structures of the industry's management. I mean those very associations which were very sharply criticized by the miners. In effect it turned out that the ministry did everything, as it were, to restrain the mining collectives and not allow them to manage their own affairs. That is to say, it did what it was allowed to do by the law on the enterprise. Therefore, I think that everything connected with the reform must be done in the shortest space of time. I have in mind our central departments. These are Gosplan, which prepares proposals; our other departments; and the government, since corresponding proposals are also prepared there to lend a more consistent nature to our reform.

In general, all these issues must be completed without being postponed indefinitely. Because we repeat daily that all these problems are being worked on, but they must be completed.

One cannot avoid seeing something else, too. One cannot avoid seeing that local bodies must also act more persistently and resolutely to resolve all local issues.

It must be directly stated that the miners have made many demands with regard to local bodies. In a number of cases they have raised issues before party bodies and

the administrative bodies of republics, krays, and oblasts, about strengthening the leadership of various local bodies. I know that such decisions have already been made, that a plenum in one case and that sessions in another have been held, and that the necessary measures have been taken to lend—well, first of all to implement the demands—a different tempo and a different answerability to party and administrative bodies. I think that when we were discussing the forthcoming report-back and election campaign at the party's Central Committee, we arrived, in my opinion, at the correct conclusion that we must not restrict ourselves to reports-back and elections being held in those organizations where they are stipulated by the statute, but that, as we arranged at our party conference, reports-back by party committees should also be held in cases where reports-back and elections are not stipulated by statute. This must be done because our times are such that it is necessary to hear and discuss the activity of party bodies on a regular basis to keep their work under control and so that this work may be more effective.

I think we have acted correctly by voicing such recommendations. Reports-back and elections and reports-back in the party are now being prepared in precisely this way. I think that in connection with taking into account the signals which we received by way of such an acute situation as the miners' strike, it will be entirely justified to put the issue in this way—because it clearly must be assumed that these problems exist everywhere, that sessions of soviets of deputies of the working people should be held in the near future, without any procrastination so to speak, everywhere throughout the country, at which reports by exectuive committees will be heard and the situation in each region will be examined and assessed, with the state of affairs being analyzed together with the way in which decisions are fulfilled, in order that a powerful impetus may be lent to the soviets' entire work.

I think it would be right if we in the Supreme Soviet made this recommendation. Elections are one thing and they are not far way, but nonetheless we must not lose any time. All the soviets must act right now to resolve the issues, particularly issues of a local nature. Therefore, if the Supreme Soviet supports this proposal then we can recommend to our Committee on Soviets and Self-Government that it meet and submit a proposal, and we will make a decision on this issue, obliging everyone to hold sessions everwhere with reports by executive committees and an examination of the specific situations in all regions so that our soviets operate more energetically everywhere.

I also think that something else follows from this situation in which we have found ourselves as a result of the miners' strikes and their work stoppage: We must resolve—both thoroughly and without delay—the matter which we talked of when we discussed the program of action for the Supreme Soviet and the issues which we ought to have in mind for discussion at the congress concerning the report by Comrade Lukyanov. Even then we drew attention to the fact that we must, given all the variety of issues, bring to the fore those which are connected with advancing economic reform as the most serious part of our work and perestroyka, and as the direction where most difficulties and problems have piled up for us—were things are slipping and we can feel that they are.

In this connection I think we were right at that time to say that the Supreme Soviet must first and foremost examine issues of property, land use, regional financial autonomy, as well as issues connected with granting the appropriate rights and powers to local bodies and so on. We must regard all these issues—the issue of leasing naturally—we must regard all these issues as being of paramount importance in the work of the Supreme Soviet so that they can be presented for examination by the next, the second Congress of People's Deputies.

That then is what I wanted to say, taking into consideration the present, the current moment, and the concrete situation in which we are all now living.

Moscow TV Interviews Gorbachev on Strike

LD2307145289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1238 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Unscheduled interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by unidentified interviewer; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, there is really one question naturally disturbing all Soviet people today: What is the situation at the mines in the country's coal-producing region today?

[Gorbachev] I agree with you that this question disturbs all of us, all Soviet people. Nor, indeed, can it fail to give rise to concern, for we are talking about very serious things that, in fact, affect all of us and which are directly linked with the way things are going with perestroyka in our country. I will say that we have gone through some difficult days—difficult, anxious, perhaps even dramatic ones—and I am saying this not just to aggravate the situation; I am giving a realistic assessment of what is taking place.

I am not going to deal now with the reasons that lie at the foundation of the exacerbation of the situation which have led, in fact, to strikes by miners in all the country's coal regions, although I will say something abut that. I simply have to say that if this situation had developed further—I mean, first and foremost, in time-scale—if this had continued, if this tension had been maintained, and if, on top of this, it had been joined by the labor collectives of other industries, then a very great deal would have been placed under threat. I understand,

therefore, that your question is dictated by the fact that people want to find out and want to know what, in fact, is taking place and what the situation is now.

Well, first of all, I will say that we have worked very thoroughly all through these days—in the centers here, including the Central Commitee, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and all the departments involved with this. It was necessary for us to maintain permanent, live contact with these regions around the clock in order to study all the specific questions, to examine the situation that had come about as a result of the strikes. Representatives of the Central Committee and the government were sent to all the centers. Deputies from the whole Supreme Soviet participated actively in all of this, in the consideration of the whole set of questions, in the assessment of the situation. In total, we were all occupied with this. I think this is understandable. As I have already said, it is too serious, too great a question. What can I say? In the end, this joint work by everyone has allowed us to reach accords, to arrive at a discussion of the whole set of questions. Moreover, I will say that the work was conducted in a good atmosphere, exacting from the side of the workers, the miners, but in a good atmosphere, constructive, realistic. This, I want to stress, is very important.

[Interviewer] Which gave results.

[Gorbachev] Yes, realistic, and I will dwell on this word because our people understand, after all, that all our resources have been brought into action. There are no additional resources. The main thing is that the resolution of the main questions is linked by the people simply with a change in the situation, with the development of reform, with a change in management methods so that this all opens up opportunities for enterprising work by people and may give them the possibility of achieving a different level of labor productivity, different results, to receive a better income, better profits, and then to manage them in such a way as to resolve all questions.

But there are also, of course, issues that had to be resolved and tackled immediately. I'm talking about that which, about issues directly concerning the miners' working conditions. This has all been examined. In effect, protocols have already been drawn up and documents prepared everywhere on the basis of agreement and constructive work, and this, so to speak, these documents are the fruit of joint effort. They reflect what we are capable of today and an understanding of these capabilities both by the center and by the miners themselves.

This is a very important stage that we have passed through, and we have passed through it, as I said earlier, in a spirit of great cooperation and understanding. And this is something we appreciate. This is perhaps what is worth noting. In these difficult circumstances our people have behaved very responsibly and in a considered way, allowing no possibility of anyone exploiting the tense situation for various purposes. This is also something we appreciate.

We can now talk about how the situation as it is this morning came about as a result of all that joint work done together. Yesterday evening, last night and even this morning I have spoken to many of them—well, virtually everyone. If you count last night's conversations and this morning's then with everyone.

[Interviewer] [question indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Yes, well I don't think (?it was easy) for anyone. Our representatives were at work with the miners there around the clock, and here too the work was going on at the same pace because questions were always cropping up. After all, before the commissions can tell the miners or give a reply to this or that issue they have to...

[Interviewer, interrupting] Issues arise and answers are needed.

[Gorbachev] Answers, yes. So there you are. The Kuzbass is now operating, and Karaganda is operating, but naturally one ought to mention the Donbass right away. The joint work by the commission headed by Comrade Ryabev and the miners' representatives has come to an end there too, and documents have been agreed on and signed. The miners of Makeyevka are now already working, as they are in two or three other towns. In other cases they intend to go back to work tonight.

In Donetsk, they support what has been done, but they are constantly concerned over whether there is any guarantee that it will be fulfilled, that it will be examined in the Supreme Soviet and the government, and at the local level where relevant issues are concerned.

Well, I think one can understand people in this regard, too. To a certain extent people have lost faith, and I want to reassure the Donetsk miners and to confirm the fact that we—the telegram from myself and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov—told them that everything that has been agreed on will become the subject of decisions and the most responsible considerations, with the participation of the miners themselves.

[Interviewer] One probably also needs to say that, as TASS reported, this does not apply only to the Donetsk miners.

[Gorbachev] It is a good thing you remembered that. There have been telephone calls, and at any rate there have been similar questions when I have been conversing with other comrades, saying that we said something in regard to a certain region, but we had not said it with regard to other regions. No, this applies in full to all regions. In this instance, I have just been conversing with Comrade Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the Russian

Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and with Comrade Melnik, secretary of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic oblast party committee. They also are completing the drawing up of documents with the miners of the Vorkuta and Inta coal production associations. They, too, are asking, so to speak, whether what has been said with respect to the Kuzbass or the Donbass also applies to them. It applies to everyone. We must particularly avoid letting pass any inattention in implementing what has been agreed on with regard to our miners, who are working, in effect, within the Arctic Circle in the north.

[Interview] Those of the Vorkuta coal production association.

[Gorbachev] Yes. I should say that the Rostov coal production association is working. Then there are the regions, coal regions, where the miners have continued working and did not stop. Thus, the situation at present has, as it were, strongly changed for the better. I now want to take advantage of our conversation to say to our miners that we highly appreciate both their principledness with respect to the examination of the issues and the posing of the issues, and their realism and principledness from the viewpoint of the fact that they are aware of the great importance of their work for the country and that the further maintenance of this situation and its deepening could have a very great effect on the economy of the whole country. Well, what do I mean by the economy? I mean on the whole situation and the entire life of our country.

Therefore, the fact that miners have started working today, I think this will be appreciated by the whole of our people.

[Interviewer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, perhaps it is a little early for me to ask you the question that I wish to put to you. No doubt it takes time for it to be thought over and considered, but nevertheless I would like to ask you this: What lessons can one learn and what conclusions, first conclusions can one draw already today?

[Gorbachev] Well, you are right that conclusions will have to be drawn, and indeed it is a little too early for broad and thorough conclusions. Little time has passed. What is more, we have been engaged in dealing with this situation, disentangling the knot and examining all problems so as to resolve and master the situation and put it into its normal channel. But nevertheless one must put this bluntly—there are things to say about this even now. Well, first and foremost, we need perestroyka. Of course, many problems have piled up, in coal basins, regions, and mining settlements, in miners' working conditions and generally in the development of this field. But, after all, these problems have arisen in all spheres with varying degree of acuteness—in the spheres of the economy and the social life of the people. Therefore, we must indeed change everything sharply on the path of perestroyka and improve people's life. Today it was miners who have raised this matter so acutely and not without reason. After all, others are also full of expectation and hope. But all this can be resolved through perestroyka. Therefore, once again this confirms in this acute form the vital need for perestroyka. And second, one must carry out perestroyka with greater resolve. That is now the resounding theme there. Miners put this bluntly: We understand the possibilities of the country and that these possibilities can be broadened and increased, something which will enable economic, social, and other tasks to be tackled, if the country moves resolutely along the path of changing the methods of economic management.

The fact still remains, however, that there are laws which have, it would seem, opened a wide road to change methods of economic management and to work in a new way. On the other hand, they are encountering many obstacles on their path. And here miners, our working class—and I incidentally have heard this in Leningrad too, something that I have already imparted to you—the working class is not happy with the way perestroyka is advancing and with the way the economic reform is progressing.

I believe this weighty word, spoken by the working class, will compel everyone, both at the center and locally and in the branches of industry to think, and that is most important, to draw the necessary conclusions in order to remove everything that is hampering the decisive restructuring of our economy in the interests of the country and the people. That is a conclusion which is undoubted, and that is why the miners acted in a very sharp way, a very sharp way. I think that generally speaking, that is not the right way, for it brings us down, but we will not... [changes thought] The miners certainly had grounds. Nevertheless the one thing they did not allow to happen was for the situation to get out of hand.

[Interviewer] They kept it under control.

[Gorbachev] They kept it under control, and we value that, but they put the question correctly and the working class does put the question correctly. This, I would say, is one of the most serious conclusions I would like to mention: The workers are taking matters into their own hands, and are doing so thoroughly, and despite the dramatic nature of the events this heartens me very strongly. What else is clear? The fact that there also are many issues that have to be decided more rapidly at the center, too, in order for our labor collectives to be able to join in perestroyka and the economic reform in a proper fashion, in order for them to be able to do more than we have done up to now. However, as the work of the commission has shown, there are many issues that should have been resolved 1, 2, or 3 years ago. No decisions from the center are needed for these.

[Interviewer] It should simply be done in the localities.

[Gorbachev] In the localities. Listen, is it really the thing that we in the commission now should be examining petty issues related to the life of settlements, to the way that transportation and retail trade services are working, to the way things are going with the functioning of the local economy? Or was it really impossible to resolve issues connected with night and evening work, how many days off they should have and when, do miners need a common day off or do they not? And so on. For these are local issues, or at the very most they are industry-level issues. The question is asked: Why are the local bodies acting like this?

[Interviewer] Is it really necessary to wait for the working people to put the question...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, and at the same time do we really have to seek the resolution of such simple issues by using acute forms, which simply give rise to alarm throughout the country?

[Interviewer] Taking the country to fever pitch.

[Gorbachev] Taking both the economy and the country into a state of fever.

Well, the miners have also said a lot about how our party and local soviet bodies and cadres are acting. Many are still living in the past and have not realized that times have changed, that the people are demanding dialogue and discussion of vital matters which concern, first and foremost, the cities, rayons, settlements, and enterprises where they work and also, well, matters which relate to the entire country. People are now not indifferent to everything, but some comrades are living according to old ideas and are therefore inattentive. Lack of attention and an absence of living contacts often end up with matters—simple matters, vital matters—not being decided promptly, not being examined.

Today the workers do not want to reconcile themselves to this and will not reconcile themselves to it. And in the Kuzbass and the Donbass they have raised specific matters before the center, before the republics, and before the oblast bodies, matters which relate to the activity of local bodies, and in some places the question of replacement [of officials] has been raised and in some places plenums and sessions have already taken place and those officials who are deaf have been removed from office.

[Interviewer] So the issue is being raised in a fundamental way.

[Gorbachev] So you see what a matter this is, what a further lesson there is in all this. This, incidentally, overlaps with what was discussed at our conference in the Central Committee with the secretaries of the Central Committee, of the oblast committees and of the kray committees—that one must march in step with life and act resolutely in the interests of the people, discuss together with people the most difficult questions and find solutions for them. There is no other way. And generally our perestroyka will not proceed without this. Perestroyka will only move ahead—and so it has been conceived—on the basis of vigorous participation by people in economic processes, in political processes, and in the spiritual sphere.

Well, I think I do not wish... [changes thought] One might stop at that. I do not wish to anticipate what is to become a subject for consideration in the Politburo, in the Supreme Soviet, and in the Council of Ministers. They have something to consider thoroughly. I think that local party, soviet, and economic management bodies also have something to think about. The strike of the miners has produced serious impulses. This, in effect, is my answer to your question. The answer is, indeed, a preliminary one for the time being.

I should just like to say that in the Supreme Soviet tomorrow we shall evidently be tabling certain questions and proposals on this matter so that without losing time we can act taking into account the lessons which we are learning from this acute situation. And in conclusion I should once again like to address our miners and all the workers and all working people of the country and say that we really are living through a very crucial period and stage in the development of perestroyka—it may be, as I have said, a critical period—when we have embarked on fundamental changes in all spheres of the life of society. This increases the strains in society. It is not proceeding easily or simply, and it is even accompanied by losses. But we must surmount this if we wish, within a certain period of time, to come out onto the wide avenue of the renewal of our society in our common interests.

[Interviewer] Many thanks, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for your interview and the exhaustive replies.

PRAVDA Publishes Interview

PM2407090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "M.S. Gorbachev Interview on Central Television on 23 July 1989"]

[Text] Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have one question to put to you today which worries all Soviet people. What is the situation now at the mines in the country's coal-producing regions?

M.S. Gorbachev: I agree with you that this question worries all Soviet people. Indeed, it is bound to worry them: After all, it relates to very serious things affecting the interests of the people and directly linked to the way restructuring progresses in our country. We have experienced some difficult days; difficult, anxious, perhaps even dramatic. I am not saying this to exacerbate the situation. I am giving a realistic assessment of what is

going on. I am not going to deal now with the reasons underlying the aggravated situation which led to the miners' strikes in the country's coal regions. I shall return to that later.

I simply have to say that had this situation developed, I mean primarily in the sense of time, had the tension persisted, and if the labor collectives of other sectors had joined in, very many things would have been under threat. Therefore, I understand your question. which is dictated by the fact that people want to know what is actually happening and how the situation is developing.

I will say first that all these days the Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and all the departments connected with coal mining have worked very thoroughly. We have had to maintain a round-the-clock vital link with those regions in order to work out specific questions and take account of the situation which has resulted from the strikes. Representatives of the Central Committee and the government were sent to all the coal mining centers. Supreme Soviet deputies and all the Supreme Soviet took part actively in examining the whole complex of questions. On the whole we were all engaged in this. I believe this is understandable. As I have already said the question is too serious.

Ultimately this joint work made it possible to begin the discussion of the whole range of questions and move toward the corresponding accords. Furthermore, the work was conducted in a good atmosphere exacting on the part of the miners, but a good constructive, realistic atmosphere. That, too, must be noted, it is very important.

Correspondent: And it produced results....

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes. The atmosphere was realistic. And I will dwell on that word, because people understand that all our resources have been brought into play. There are no additional opportunities. And the most important thing is that people link the solution to the main questions simply with a change in the situation, with the development of the economic reform, and with a change in economic management methods, so that all this should open up opportunities for enterprising work, provide an opportunity to reach a new level of labor productivity, to produce different results and bigger incomes, and to use them in such a way as to remove the tension.

Of course, miners had questions which had to be resolved, and resolved quickly. We are dealing with those questions which directly relate to working conditions. That has all been examined. Essentially, protocols have already been drawn up everywhere and documents have been prepared on the basis of agreement. Those documents, too, are the result of joint efforts. They reflect our present-day opportunities and the center's understanding of the situation as well as that of the miners. Therefore, a very important stage has been reached. It has passed, as I have already said, in a spirit of great cooperation and understanding. And we value that.

It should be noted in particular that in this complex situation people have behaved in a very responsible and balanced way. They have given no opportunity for anyone to take advantage of this tense situation for other, unseemly aims. We value that, too.

As a result of joint work we can now talk about how the situation is shaping up at the mines this morning. Yesterday evening, last night, and this morning I have talked with virtually all the regions where miners have stopped work.

Correspondent: There was no time to rest....

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, here I think no one felt like resting. Locally representatives of the center worked with miners around the clock. Here, too, work was at such a pace because questions cropped up all the time.

Correspondent: A question crops up, it needs answers.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, answers are needed. Now the Kuzbass is working. Karaganda is working. Well, of course, one must mention the Donbass. The joint work of the commission headed by Comrade Ryabev and miners' representatives has ended there—documents were agreed on and signed. Now the Makeyevka miners are working, as are miners in two or three other cities. In some other regions they plan to resume work tonight.

In the Donetsk they support what has been done, but all the time they are worried. Is there a guarantee that the accords will be implemented, that this will be the subject of examination at the Supreme Soviet and the government. Of course, this also applies to those questions which will be resolved locally. I think it is possible to understand people and how much they have lost faith. That is why I want to reassure the Donetsk miners and confirm what N.I. Ryzhkov and I said in our telegram, all that has been agreed, that this will all be the subject of decisions and the most responsible examinations and involving the miners themselves, furthermore.

Correspondent: That must be mentioned, too, surely because it applies not only to the Donetsk miners, as TASS has reported.

M.S. Gorbachev: It is good that you mentioned that. Telephone calls and telegrams are currently being received from people asking: Something was said in relation to such and such a region but not to others. I must confirm most definitely that the measures planned to resolve questions raised by miners applies to all regions. I was just talking with Comrade Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and Comrade Melnikov, secretary of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Oblast Committee [obkom]. They too are completing the details of documents with miners from "Borkutaugol" and "Intaugol." People there are asking:

What was said in relation to the Kuzbass or the Donbass? Does it apply to us? I can reaffirm that it applies to everyone. We can not allow any inattention to the miners in the North, the Arctic Circle, when it comes to implementing what has been agreed upon.

In general, this deals with all miners. "Rostovugol" is working. There are coal regions where the miners did not stop work at all. So today the situation is evening itself out. And I would like to take advantage of the opportunity offered by our conversation now to tell the miners that we rate this highly. Their principledness, vis-a-vis the posing and examination of questions, their realism from the viewpoint that they understand the importance of their work for the country.

If the situation persists and especially if it deepens it could seriously affect the country's economy. And what does that mean to the economy? It means that the prevailing situation would affect the country's whole life. Therefore, the fact that the miners have now begun work, I think, is valued by our whole people.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeyevich, perhaps it is too soon to ask the question which I want to put to you. Probably it needs time to think about and consider much, but nevertheless, I would like to ask: What lessons and conclusions may be drawn now from the present situation?

M.S. Gorbachev: You are right that conclusions will be drawn, but it is still really a little early for firm conclusions. There has not been enough time, all the more so as we have been engaged in clearing up the situation, untying the knot, and examining all the problems in order to get work back to normal.

Nonetheless there are already things that can be said right now about this. Above all, the fact that we need restructuring. Of course, many problems have built up in mining areas, at mining settlements, in miners' working conditions, and in the development of this sector. But these problems exist to a more or less acute extent in all spheres of the economy and people's social life. That is why we really need to abruptly change a great deal on the path of restructuring and to improve people's living conditions. This question has now been sharply raised by the miners, and not without reason.

But, after all, others too are waiting and hoping for better things. But this can only be achieved on the path of restructuring. That is why life in this acute form reaffirms yet again the need for restructuring.

One other point. We must conduct restructuring more resolutely. This idea has been voiced in miners' statements. They are bluntly stating that we understand the country's limited potential and that this potential can be increased if the country resolutely embarks on the path of changing its methods of economic management. It would seem that there are laws which, as it were, open up a large scope for changing economic management methods and for working in the new way. But there are very many obstacles to their application. And now miners and the working class—and, as I have already mentioned, I heard this in Leningrad too, incidentally—are dissatisfied with the course of restructuring and the economic reform.

I think that the working class' weighty statements will force everyone—centrally, locally, and in sectors—to think hard. And the most important point is to take the measures needed to remove everything hampering the resolute restructuring of the economy in the interests of the country and the people. That is one of the conclusions which now undoubtedly follows from the prevailing situation. The miners have acted very acutely. I think that in general this is the wrong path, since it disrupts our working rhythm. But the miners probably had grounds. The one thing they did not allow to happen was for the situation to get out of hand.

Correspondent: They kept it under control.

M.S. Gorbachev: They did, and we appreciate that. But they were right to raise the question and the working class is right to raise the question. That, I would say, is one of the most important conclusions I would like to mention. Workers are taking matters firmly into their own hands. And, despite all the drama of the events, this inspires me very strongly.

Something else that is obvious is that the center must resolve many questions more rapidly in order to allow labor collectives to become really involved in restructuring and the practical implementation of economic reform and to be able to do more than they have hitherto. There are many questions, as the commissions' work in the coal areas has shown, which should have been resolved 1, 2, and 3 years ago. And we need no resolutions from the center in order to do this.

Correspondent: It could be done locally.

M.S. Gorbachev: It could be done locally. After all, the commission is now examining issues relating to the provision of facilities to settlements and to the way in which transportation, water supply, and the trading system operate. Was it really impossible to resolve issues linked with night work, evening work, the number of days off and when they are to be taken, and whether a general day off for miners is needed or not? And so forth. These, after all, are local issues—at best, sector issues. One wonders why local organs operate in such a way. Should we really try to resolve such simple questions by using such acute forms which simply alarm the people?

Correspondent: The country is in turmoil.

M.S. Gorbachev: The economy and the country are in turmoil. The miners also said a great deal about the way our party and soviet organs and cadres operate. Clearly, many of them are still living with old-fashioned ideas

and have not realized that times have changed and that people demand dialogue and a discussion of vitally important issues concerning above all the cities, rayons, settlements, and enterprises where people work.

But there are questions which apply to the entire country. People now are not indifferent to everything, but certain comrades are living according to old ideas, and therefore their inattention and lack of real contact often results in vitally important issues not being resolved or examined. Workers now do not want to tolerate this and will not tolerate it. In the Kuzbass and the Donbass they have raised specific issues for the center, the republics, and oblast organs—questions relating to local organs' activities. Moreover, in certain places questions have been raised about replacing certain workers. In certain places plenums and sessions have already been held, and people who were deaf to the miners' acute needs—needs which could have been resolved locally—have been replaced.

Correspondent: Namely, the issue has been raised in fundamental terms.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is yet another lesson from the prevailing situation. This, incidentally, ties in with what was discussed at the CPSU Central Committee conference with the secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and party obkoms and kray committees. It stated that we must meet life halfway and act resolutely in people's interests, discuss things with people, and find solutions to the most difficult questions. There is no other way. And in general restructuring will not work without it. It is only possible on the basis of people's active participation in economic and political processes and in the spiritual sphere.

It would now be possible to restrict ourselves to this. I do not want to predict what will be considered at the Politburo, the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers. In general, we do have things which require thorough consideration. I think that local party, soviet, and economic organs also have something to think about. The miners' strike has produced serious grounds for thought and action.

That, strictly speaking, is my answer to your question. It is indeed still tentative. I just want to say that at the Supreme Soviet tomorrow we will clearly be submitting some questions and proposals on this score in order to act in accordance with the lessons we are learning from this acute situation without wasting any time.

Well, in conclusion, I would again like to reiterate to the miners, all workers, and all the country's working people that we are indeed going through a very crucial period and stage in the development of restructuring. This may be a critical period when we have embarked on the path of radical changes in all spheres of society's life. It is not all proceeding easily and simply, and it is even accompanied by losses, but we must overcome this if we want to reach the high road of our society's renewal.

Correspondent: Many thanks, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for the interview and your exhaustive answers.

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Send Telegram to Miners

LD2207172689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] An appeal to the miners: On 22 July, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov sent a telegram to Comrade Ryabev, chairman of the government commission for examining the demands of the Donbass miners. The telegram says:

Having heard your report on the results of the examination of issues raised by the Donbass miners, we instruct you to announce to the miners that all the issues agreed upon by the commission will be immediately examined in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers with the participation of miners' representatives, and the necessary decisions will be adopted on them. On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government, we appeal once again to the Donbass miners to go back to work. The situation in some industries of the national economy has reached a critical limit. Mutual understanding and joint action to normalize the situation are now required.

As TASS has been told, the same approach will be adopted with regard to the issues raised by staff at coal industry enterprises in other parts of the country.

'Text' of Agreement on Miners' Demanda Published

PM2107172589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

["For All Miners: Demands Have Been Met"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] During the continuing miners' strike in many parts of the country strike committees have been expressing doubts about whether the agreement of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], commission and regional strike committee in the Kuzbass applies to all the country's coalfields. The published text of the agreement notes in particular that all its points apply in full to all the country's coal-mining regions.

Having considered the demands of the working people of striking enterprises in the Kuzbass, the regional strike committee and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU commission for sectorial issues reached the following agreement.

1. Enterprises in the Kuzbass, mines, and pits are to be granted complete economic and legal independence in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

Special significance is to be devoted to coal industry enterprises in the solution of this question. The USSR Coal Industry Ministry is to reorganize the existing associations into various groups [assotsiatsii] and other voluntary forms of management organization. This work is to be carried out before 1 January 1990. Extensive use is to be made of the various forms of ownership of the means of production—state, cooperative, lease, joint-stock, and others.

2. Kuzbass industrial enterprises are to be granted the right, as of 1 August 1989, to sell above-contract outout at contract prices within the country and to other countries (except for products which can be sold abroad only with the USSR Government's permission).

The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry is given a month to prepare proposals on the size of the state order at at enterprises of the Ministry of the Coal Industry, with a view to ensuring that enterprises are able to supply products in excess of the state order at their own discretion at contract prices and the relevant proposals are to be made to the USSR Council of Ministers. The USSR Council of Ministers is to consider these proposals in August 1989, first and foremost those on coking coal.

3. The USSR State Committee for Prices and the USSR Coal Industry Ministry are to stipulate in the plan for the reform of wholesale prices an increase in coal prices in accordance with actual expenditure on extraction, taking into account the cost of complete recultivation and changes in mining and geological conditions, and granting enterprises' (associations') economic services the right to be flexible in amending basic economic indicators (volume of coal extraction, labor productivity, prime cost, output norms).

4. It is to be laid down that as of 1 August 1989 coal industry enterprises will independently establish output and assessment norms and maintenance norms. Norms for the coal basin will be regarded as having the force of recommendations.

5. As of 1 July 1989, for working the night and evening shifts, coal industry workers receive 40 and 20 percent, respectively, on top of the hourly rate (salary rate).

6. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, guided by the USSR Law on the State Enterpise (Association), must do the necessary work to establish a standard day off, on Sundays, for working people in Kuzbass coal industry enterprises (not later than in the second quarter of 1990).

7. It must be established that labor remuneration of workers, including section chiefs, in mines and at enterprises treated as mines, with respect to the time spent traveling in the mine from the shaft to their work place and back, shall be paid according to their wage rate (salary scale).

8. A recommendation is to be made to enterprises that, in conformity with the rights vested in them under USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 372 dated 4 May 1989, they should pay out of the material incentives fund (unified labor remuneration fund) one-shot allowances to the families of deceased persons (without any restrictions), pay one-shot allowances to working people who have completed a long period of service at the same enterprise when they retire on pension, institute additional leave entitlement, and make other social payments. The specific amounts and conditions for such payments and benefits shall be autonomously determined by the enterprises.

9. Associations and enterprises are recommended to give women leave to care for children under the age of 3 years in conformity with the right vested by USSR Council of Ministers resolution No 372 dated 4 May 1989.

10. It shall be incumbent upon the Ministry of the Coal Industry, in coordination with state supervisory organs, to review and cut down all current instructions on safety equipment, while meeting in the process the demands of labor safety. On this basis, the numerical strength of the relevant personnel is to be reduced. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, jointly with the leadership of associations and enterprises, is to carry out this work by 1 October this year.

11. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry must take measures to reduce the flow of paperwork and clearly define the functions of every specialist. The provision of modern computer and organizational equipment for their work must be accelerated. The USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science must render the necessary assistance to the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry. Enterprise leaders and labor collective councils are recommended to effect by 1 October 1989 a simplification of the structure of enterprise management apparatus, and on this basis to effect cutbacks in the number of specialists and leaders and to simplify the paperwork system.

12. When preparing the new pensions laws, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU must examine questions associated with preferential length of service allowances for working people in open pits, motor vehicle pools, and loading and transportation administrations, and also with the inclusion in preferential service of any period of working people's illness associated with industrial injury or occupational disease which may have caused the onset of disability.

13. When drawing up the draft law on pensions, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems together with the AUCCTU is to consider and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on granting the right to retire to working people of militarized mine rescue units, and to those employed in underground and opencut mines of the coal industry with a length of

service of more than 25 years in these mines. This right to retire should be granted irrespective of their age and on a pension equivalent to 70 percent of their wages; any 5 years of the last 15 years should be taken into account for the purpose of calculating this pension.

14. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU are to be instructed to consider and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers in September—along with the draft law on pensions—proposals to include concessionary service in the length of service worked underground. This is in order to establish a pension on preferential terms for the period during which a worker receives a liability pension as a consequence of industrial injury incurred by that worker previously employed in work underground, in open pits, and other equivalent enterprises.

15. When preparing the USSR draft law on leave, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU are to consider proposals for calculating wages on the basis of a 5-day working week in accordance with the procedure stipulated for the calculation of sick leave. When preparing the USSR draft law on pensions, they are to consider a concessionary age of 55 years when calculating pensions for the drivers of industrial transport and train-marshalers with a total work service of no less than 30 years, and no less than 12 years in the profession concerned.

The USSR Ministry of Health, USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the AUCCTU are to be instructed to consider and reach a decision within 1 month on the possibility of recognizing osteochondrosis and herniation of intervertebral disks as industrial diseases of workers, mining experts, sectional heads of the coal industry, and militarized mine rescue unit personnel.

16. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU are to provide the corresponding explanations of guaranteed service payments (with the exception of cases where there has been a breach of labor discipline), and also on the procedure for calculating sums of money payed in connection with temporary disability and leave payments, taking into account all bonuses included in the average wage.

17. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry is to be instructed to review and approve normative documents on the activities of militarized mine rescue units within 1 month.

Inform all working people that these decisions adopted by the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU working in the Kuzbass apply to all of the country's coal mining regions.

[Signed] USSR Minister of the Coal Industry Shchadov.

Further on Effects of, Discussions on Strikes

Update on Kuzbass Situation

PM2207205289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Series of 22 July reports by TASS from Prokopyevsk and PRAVDA correspondents G. Dildyayev in Karaganda, V. Drozd in Chervonograd, and M. Kryukov in Rostov-na-Donu under the general heading: "Miners' Strike: Talks In Progress"]

[Text] Prokopyevsk (Kemerovo Oblast)—After 10 anxious days of the strike, life is returning to normal in the mining cities of the Kuzbass. The intensive round-the-clock activity of the government commission, which came to ascertain and eliminate the causes of the crisis situation, has made it possible to ease the tension that occurred in the oblast.

Government commission chairman N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said the following in conversation with TASS correspondents:

"We set ourselves two main tasks—immediate and long-term. The first was to adopt emergency measures to provide people with life's essentials and relieve the tension. I will say right away that it was accomplished quickly as a result of the efforts of USSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman L.A. Voronin, All-Union Central Council of Trade Union Chairman S.A. Shalayev, and the leaders of a number of ministries working on the commission. The members of oblast and city strike committees worked vigorously, energetically, and constructively, as befits workers.

Questions of improving the population's living standards were discussed with special care. Ways of aiding the supply of food and industrial goods were found and measures were adopted to improve public health. The urgent measures included introducing a regional rate of pay for night and evening work. Enterprises were recommended to grant women leave to look after children under 3 and to make other social concessions and payments in accordance with the 4 May 1988 government resolution. A common day off is to be established for miners—Sunday.

Party, soviet, and trade union activists in the Kuzbass have had a harsh lesson. They, in particular, came in for legitimate criticism at rallies: The strikes and enormous material and psychological damage might never have happened had leading organs in the oblast and cities and their aktiv throughly investigated working people's vital concerns.

The government commission is continuing its work. [no end quotation marks as published].

Karaganda—All day and all night there was a noisy rally in the main square of the city of Karaganda. The rally was broadcast on local television. Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary N. Nazarbayev, USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V. Doguzhiyev, and other republic, oblast, and sector leaders talked with the miners assembled there. The miners' demands were carefully examined with the oblast strike committee.

The miners' demands were met. The strike committee called for an end to the strike. By midday on 22 July miners in all 10 mines in Karaganda were down at the face and the longwall.

But the strike continued at enterprises in the cities of Shakhtinsk, Abay, and Saran.

Chervonograd (Lvov Oblast)—For the 3d day in a row, the square outside the Palace of Culture was packed with striking miners. Yesterday the members of the strike committee, which is headed by coalface worker A. Lyubarskiy, with the participation of Ya. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the oblast party committee, T. Shapovalova, chairman of the oblast trade union council, USSR people's deputy Yu. Sorochik, and party and soviet leaders of the city and the "Ukrzapadugol" association, sat late into the night searching for ways of resolving the conflict.

Agreement was reached on the majority of grievances. But many miners issued an ultimatum insisting on immediate satisfaction of all their demands. It should be noted that the workers cut out any attempts to make the strike political.

Miners in Novovolynsk have started to join the strike today.

Rostov-na-Donu—The "Gukovugol" association's mine—named for the 60th anniversary of the All-Union Lenin Youth League—is not producing fuel at the moment. The strike goes on. What problems still have to be resolved? What is in the forefront at the moment? I telephoned strike committee leader and shift chief A. Kudryu and asked him about it.

"Four of our points remain," he replied. "If they are met the miners will immediately go back to work. Our production plan is unrealistic. In these conditions there is no advantage in granting us independence. We are operating in an emergency situation. We sent a telegram to the coal industry minister and our couriers went to him. We are awaiting his decision. Agreement has been reached on consumer and social matters."

Slyunkov Meets Kuzbass Officials

LD2107122889 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Kemerevo, Western Siberia July 21 TASS—Life in Kuzbass, the Kuznetsk coal basin in Western Siberia, is completely back to normal after all mines and enterprises in the region resumed work last night following ten days of strikes.

The losses inflicted by the strikes are enormous and are believed here to be practically irreparable. The ten-day stoppage cost Kuzbass all above-plan production stocks and cut deep into the social development funds of industrial facilities and towns.

A government commission led by Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov met workers in the towns of Belovo, Guryevsk and Salair on Thursday before leaving for Mezhdurechensk this morning.

A conference there was attended by local party, government and trade union leaders and representatives of the city's worker collectives.

Slyunkov Addresses Aktiv Meeting

PM2107131989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Bogachuk dispatch: "Difficult Quest for Solutions"]

[Excerpts] Kemerovo Oblast, 20 Jul—The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Council of Ministers commission and the Kuzbass regional strike committee signed a joint protocol in Prokopyevsk yesterday on the results of the discussion of the demands put forward by the striking miners. On most points specific, concerted decisions have been adopted, and deadlines for their implementation have been defined. Many of them relate not just to the Kuzbass, but to the sector as a whole and accord with the interests of miners in the Donbass, Karaganda, and other coal basins. [passage omitted]

The strike has ended but much work lies ahead of the government commission. Together with leaders of ministries and departments, its members will study the situation and the working people's pressing needs in all the mining cities with a view to adopting appropriate decisions on the development of the social infrastructure and the enhancement of the Siberians' living standards.

Some of these questions were discussed yesterday at a meeting of the oblast party and economic aktiv held in Novokuznetsk and attended by representatives of strike committees. N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a speech at the aktiv meeting.

Kuzbass Strikers Meet Slyunkov

LD2207175489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 89

[TASS report by special correspondents Nikolay Zheleznov and Grigoriy Shalakin from Prokopyevsk, Western Siberia on 22 July]

[Text] After 10 alarming days of strikes, life in the mining towns of the Kuznetsk basin is getting back to normal. The activity of the government commission,

which came here to discover and eliminate the reasons for the crisis situation, has made it possible for the tension which emerged in the oblast to be removed.

The members of the commission and of the oblast strike committee have signed in Prokopyevsk a protocol of agreed measures. The trouble subsided on Kuznetsk soil as the text of the protocol was delivered to other towns, and to mines and enterprises.

The commission is making an in-depth familiarization of local labor conditions, and services and amenities which exist for miners and all oblast workers, and is also making a thorough analysis of the reasons which evoked the difficult situation so as to accumulate material so that a comprehenseive program can be compiled for the social and economic development of this industrial area.

Nikolay Slyunkov, chairman of the government commission, and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an evaluation, in conversation with TASS correspondents, of the situation which emerged in the Kuzbass. He reported on the first results of the commission's activity. We have set ourselves two main tasks—one immediate and one long-term, he said. The first of the tasks consisted of adopting emergency measures to ensure normal life for the people and to remove the tension. This task was successfully achieved in a short period of time. The members of the oblast and city strike committees acted vigorously, energetically, and constructively, as befits workers. Joint interest and mutual understanding promoted fast relaxation of the tense situation.

"We proceeded from a premise of seeking to find the best possible solution to the problems, the necessary solution for improving services of the oblast, even under the conditions of the limited possibilities which the country possesses," the CPSU Central Committee secretary said. "Restraint, responsibility, and prudence were what typified this dialogue, in which the working class, having displayed a high degree of organization, expressed its disagreement with the slow pace of the restructuring taking place in the Kuzbass.

"Questions related to increasing the living standards of the population of the Kuzbass were discussed in a particularly thorough way. Possibilities were found to help in supplying food and industrial goods, and measures were adopted to improve the health system. Among the urgent measures has been the introduction, from 10 August this year, of a regional coefficient, and of a payment for night and evening work.

Enterprises have been recommended to grant women leave to look after children aged up to 3 years, and to produce other social benefits and payments in accordance with the government decision of 4 May 1989. A common day off is established for miners: Sunday.

I would like to draw to your attention that for virtually every one of the 35 points on the protocol of coordinated action signed by the commission members and tghe oblast strike committee, concrete deadlines and those responsible for fulfillment are specified. The workers' collectives will now themselves monitor fulfillment of the planned measures.

During our meetings and conversations with workers, Nikolay Slyunkov said, matters of strengthening the economic independence of the Kuzbass and of the transfer of the oblast to territorial financial autonomy were raised.

We could see with what an exacting and principled attitude the workers were standing up for the interests of the state. We can feel in everything that the delay in solving these issues was one of the causes of the strike, and that in the Kuzbass there has truly been a serious separation of the realities of life from the policy of economic mechanism put forward by the party. I have to say bluntly that the rights presented to enterprises and the working people by perestroyka have been virtually cut down and restricted here; that has built up general dissatisfaction in the region.

Total economic independence is one of the first demands put forward by the labor collectives of the industrial enterprises, above all by those in the coal industry. That is why we have adopted the decision, here on the spot, to instruct the country's coal industry ministry to implement effective measures to create independent amalgamations and associations in the oblast on the basis of voluntary entry into them and economic acounting. Independence will strengthen the enterprises' material base and give them the opportunity to act more boldly in solving issues of organization of labor, norm-setting, wages, and the establishment of a more flexible system of coal prices.

It is confirmed once again that the workers consider the slow pace of economic reform to be one of the causes of tension existing in the Kuzbass. The party, local soviet and trade union activists of the Kuzbass have received a stern lesson. It is they, in particular, who were the target of the just words of reproach heard at the meetings: The strikes and enormous material and moral losses might not have happened had the governing bodies of the oblast and the towns, as well as their aktiv, responded more effectively to the working people's urgent concerns, made them their own concerns, and solved more efficiently the problems arising in the course of perestroyka. The mood in which the working man of the Kuzbass works, and how quickly he picks up a high rhythm depend to a decisive degree on this very point.

Further on Slyunkov Meetings

LD2207212389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] After signing an agreement with the striking miners, the government commission is now meeting representatives of labor collectives.

[A. Konstantinov in Kuzbass, identified by caption] Problems of other enterprises as well as those of the miners are being examined during the meetings. Yesterday, at the party oblast committee, there was a discussion of the concept of regional financial autonomy; taking part were USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, scientists, and leading specialists on this topic. Most of the problems being resolved here today have ramifications going far beyond regional ramifications. What is resolved in the Kuzbass will be of benefit to perestroyka throughout the country.

All the proposals from workers, etc., are now being collected for the party and government commission. I have looked at many of them very carefully and we have certainly both seen here at session that many of the issues could also be resolved on a local basis.

[N.N. Slyunkov, chairman of government commission, identified by caption] If you take a look at all the programs of the strike committees of each mine, of each town, and of each oblast committee, they begin with issues concerning the granting of financial independence, issues of the independence of enterprises in resolving things unaided, by means of improving their work, better organization of the administrative system, better organization of production processs, more productive labor, through being able to obtain the funds and solve their own problems by better organizing their work. So this is one of the main issues. It is here that a gap has arisen. We at the center adopted decisions, determined the approaches for tackling these issues, and gave out all the appropriate government decisions, but here, on the spot, they were hampered. You understand, the mines have acquired no independence. The collectives here are suggesting how associations should be created, what rights should be granted. These issues were not resolved and the collective is therefore saying: Give me independence, let us decide on organizational structures ourselves, as we consider necessary! This is the main issue. If this one single issue had been resolved in good time, if it had not been obstructed, if an initiative had been presented here to labor collectives that they resolve their own issues in line with the law on state enterprises which was adopted 2 years ago already, then there would have been no conflict situation here and there would not have been this phenomenon. Therefore, the working class—here they are around me, members of the strike committee, the leaders of the strike committee... [Slyunkov changes thought] None of them wanted a strike. All of them are sincerely, in themselves, suffering deeply at what has happened. They did not need a strike and they are taking it hard. Many, all of them, are saying to me directly: Nikolay Nikitovich, understand us. We understand that we have damaged the country. We feel, very badly about it and we do not even know how to explain ourselves, to justify ourselves to the country. We are aware of the damage, not so much economic as political, which we have caused to the country, but the situation forced it upon us, the situation forced this. Many problems have accumulated and they have seen ways and approaches to tackle these problems, through independence in the operation of enterprises, through independence of economic management. This independence was delayed; it was not granted to them. Then they say: Listen, we understand that there are problems, problems have accumulated; they cannot be solved in a day or in a year or in 2 years. Then why do you not give us the opportunity to decide our own fate through our own labor, with our own intellect, with our own hands, unaided?

[Konstantinov] As a manifestation of this I would like to mention that a meeting of a group of USSR people's deputies, jointly with the Kuzbass Regional Strike Committee, came to the conclusion on 21 July 1989 that it was necessary to hold elections to the local soviets no later than November 1989. What do you think about this? Is this a just demand?

[Slyunkov] Some territories want to hold elections in the autumn, some oblasts, territories, regions. Other regions and oblasts want to hold them in the spring. Well, perhaps some compromise will be adopted. The Supreme Soviet might adopt a decision to hold elections upon expiry of their powers, as it were. The Supreme Soviet might allow elections to be held at the discretion of each territory. I cannot reply on behalf of the Supreme Soviet. [video shows Slyunkov talking to correspondent, unidentified people looking on]

AUCCTU's Shalayev Arrives in Kuzbass

PM2407101289 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), by TRUD correspondents Yu. Kotlyarov and N. Nadezhdina in Kemerovo Oblast: "AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev: 'The Trade Unions Will Always Defend the Workers' Interests'"—date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev has arrived in the Kuzbass as part of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU commission. TRUD's correspondents asked him to answer a number of questions.

Kemerovo Oblast—[Correspondents] Stepan Alekseyevich, how do you assess the situation in the Kuzbass?

[Shalayev] The Kuzbass is at work. All of the enterprises that stopped work are regaining their usual pace of work and reaching plan indicators. Although the situation remains complex—the time of the strike did not pass without trace.

In recent days we have visited Kemerovo, Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, Belov, Guryevsk, Mezhdurechensk, and other cities in the oblast. There were many meetings with working people and the population at rallies and in the labor collectives. We talked with people, and they put difficult, urgent questions to us. All this gave us the opportunity to sense the mood and resolve many tricky problems.

[Correspondents] What, in your view, are the reasons for the strike?

[Shalayev] The cause of the strike was the working people's acute dissatisfaction with the neglected state of the social sphere and the difficulties that have recently intensified in the supply of food products and consumer goods. This dissatisfaction is due first and foremost to the fact that there has been much talk about perestroyka, but people have yet to perceive real perestroyka in the economy and the management system. In the conversations and at rallies many people said that for decades the attention paid by central organs toward that most important industrial region, the Kuzbass, with its developed coal, metallurgical, and chemical industry, was completely inadequate. The diktat of ministries, including the coal industry ministry, and their associations allows the enterprises no opportunity to manage efficiently. Remember: Historically, in the coal sector system the pit was always the main, autonomous component. The collective itself could resolve many problems in the interests of production and the working people. Under the existing management system the pits and opencuts are virtually deprived of this, they have to coordinate every step with the association and go cap in hand to it, and they have no opportunity to dispose of their own earned income. The miners do not intend to go on tolerating this. People are demanding changes, they themselves want to participate in the transformation of the economy and in management, and to have the opportunity to resolve social problems themselves by improving their work.

It is no accident that one of the first points on the protocol of agreed measures drawn up by the commission and the Kuzbass regional strike committee is devoted to the preparations for Kemerovo Oblast to go over to economic accountability. These proposals are to be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet by 1 November, so that the region can go over to the new system of economic management early next year.

The next point is very important, supporting the proposal to grant full economic and legal autonomy to all enterprises in the Kuzbass, including pits and opencuts, in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). The industrial enterprises of the Kuzbass are granted the right from 1 August 1989 to sell output produced over and above the contracts concluded at contract prices both at home and abroad....

As you can see, it is not a question of a dependent attitude. The miners are not asking for donations from the state—they want the opportunity to work productively and earn more resources for the country, the region, the city, and themselves, through better economic management. These sentiments and decisions could only have arisen in the context of perestroyka. The working people want perestroyka to go more rapidly and have a profounder effect on the production and social spheres. And that is a good thing.

[Correspondents] What is your view of the actual form of protest chosen by the miners—the strike?

[Shalayev] Both the trade unions and the working people themselves recognize that this is an extreme measure. They were forced to resort to it only when all other forms of resolving collective labor conflicts had failed to produce results.

The trade unions support the justified demands of the Kuzbass working people. And the protocol of agreed measures states that they are justified. Its 35 points represent agreement with the workers' demands. The protocol was signed by N. Slyunkov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I signed it on behalf of the AUCCTU. On behalf of the strike committee, it was signed by the leaders—T. Avaliani, Yu. Rudolf, Yu. Gerold.

When I say that the working people's demands are justified, naturally the question arises: Why were they not satisfied before, within the framework of normal procedures? That is one of the main lessons of the strike: Without doubt, the strike could have been prevented. The participants in the strike themselves told us this frankly. The workers did not want to strike. But what happened? Even before, the workers had presented their urgent problems in a pressing form to local party, soviet, trade union, and economic organs and central departments. But they were deaf to the working people's demands. Back in the spring, some collectives in the Kuzbass stopped work for a short time and made similar demands. But those who were responsible for resolving the problems got away with what were often hollow promises. And then there was the mass strike that did serious damage to the national economy and the labor collectives themselves. In the Kuzbass alone, losses in coal extraction totaled more than R3 million, and the miners' overall losses are in excess of R70 million. Because coal was not dispatched during the days of the strike, many consumer enterprises were put in a critical position. And winter is coming! But the striking pits and opencuts themselves were left without money, too, because there were no sales....

If we are angry today with the situation that developed in the Kuzbass, we should be equally angry with ourselves. At a rally in Kemerovo I was asked: "Do you not think that the trade unions, including the AUCCTU, are also to blame for the strike?" I said frankly: "Yes, we are to blame. Because the trade union committees, the trade union council, the trade union Central Committee, and finally the AUCCTU were not really principled and persistent and failed to ensure that the workers' legitimate demands were examined and satisfied promptly."

Yet even now the trade union committees have opportunities for influencing the administration to protect the working people's legitimate interests. They can even express a lack of confidence and demand the dismissal of those leaders who violate labor legislation and ignore the trade union organization's demands. It is well known that last year 10,919 economic leaders at various levels were relieved of their posts at the request of the trade unions. Labor collective councils can take decisions that are binding on the administration. So why not utilize these rights? I am sure that where the trade union committees and labor collective councils are active and principled, labor disputes and conflicts can be resolved in good time.

A few words about the strike as a form of protest. Strikes are not banned in our country. But on the other hand we have no law regulating the procedure for the timely examination of collectives' labor disputes so that matters do not get as far as a strike. We have a legislative procedure for resolving individual labor conflicts—there is the commission for labor disputes, and then, in the event of a worker's disagreement, the trade union committee, whose decision is binding on the administration. And finally the courts. This system protects the interests of the individual. Nearly 99 percent of labor disputes are resolved in favor of the working people at the level of the trade union. Yet we do not yet have a similar procedure for examining disputes between labor collectives and the administration or department.

It is the AUCCTU's firm conviction that we must accelerate the adoption of a special law regulating the timely examination of collective labor disputes and conflicts, with the participation of trade union committees and labor collective councils, and the formation of special conciliation commissions and a labor arbitration system for this purpose. But the trade union committee should also have the right to stop work in cases where economic leaders fail to comply with the procedure for examining conflicts, do not fulfill the agreements adopted, or try to get away with hollow promises. In the draft law on the examination of labor conflicts that was submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU to the USSR Supreme Soviet, we sought to reflect these questions in the light of international experience and the recommendations of the International Labor Organization.

[Correspondents] Stepan Alekseyevich, they told us at the pits that a number of trade union activists are on the strike committees. How do you regard this participation by trade union committees in the Kuzbass events?

[Shalayev] I know of cases wehre certain trade union committee chairmen not only belong to, but head the strike committees. But I also know of cases where the workers wanted to elect the trade union committee chairman leader of the strike committee, but he refused to be leader, although he agreed to be a committee member. Why, indeed? Probably some trade union leaders are still afraid of the very word "strike"....

But I must say, to the credit of the Kuzbass trade unions, that when the strike broke out many trade union workers and activists did not remain aloof: They helped to formulate valid demands, organize the monitoring of the preservation of order, and maintain the viability of pits and opencuts. In a whole series of cities people were in the squares day and night, and the trade unions helped to organize catering and transportation. My own presence here was in order to be with the Kuzbass working people in these difficult days and defend their legitimate rights and interests. The trade unions will always defend the workers' interests.

[Correspondents] You have already said that all the enterprises in the Kuzbass are working normally today. What, in your view, led to this positive turn of events?

[Shalayev] The telegram from M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov and the constructive work of our commission and the regional strike committee met with a very positive assessment among the majority of working people in the Kuzbass. The working people's demands were analyzed thoroughly, and positive solutions that are feasible under present conditions were found in most cases. Let me observe that this applies not only to the miners' demands, but those of the collectives of other enterprises too. As for the miners, the decisions arrived at, which are sector-wide in nature, are being extended to enterprises throughout the sector, in all regions of the country, be it the Donbass or Vorkuta, Rostov or Karaganda, and so forth.

The lessons of the strike will not be wasted. We have faith in the patriotism and high sense of responsibility of the miners and workers at other enterprises, who are already taking steps to make good the losses resulting from the dramatic events in the country's national economy.

Strike Harms Kuzbass Party

PM2107120989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy report: "Kuzbass: The Breakthrough Has Happened"]

[Excerpts] Kemerovo Oblast—I have already written that for some party workers in the mining cities and

enterprises the strike was unexpected and "spontaneous," as they put it. Chatting with many miners these days, I think: Must you be out of touch with life in order not to guess it in advance together with everyone?...

"But all this was brewing, you know! Even before the Mezhdurechensk miners' action you could feel that it was on the point of beginning," Vladimir Dyachenko, member of Novokuznetsk City Committee [gorkom] and chairman of the mine committee, told me. [passage omitted]

"What we decided was: no squares or rallies! Ours is a big, heterogeneous city, and all this could lead to unpleasantness and violations of order. That would mean the end for our cause, do you agree?"

I do agree, but the point is this. Where the miners sat in squares—in Mezhdurechensk, Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk, Kemerovo—the strike committees there dealt a resolute rebuff to the political intriguers and emissaries of dubious organizations who had congregated in the Kuzbass. But in Theater Square in Novokuznetsk I myself saw informals of not the best kind frequently gain the upper hand in the absence of workers.

"Never mind," Volodya is certain. "We will deal with them later, you can rest assured. We were able to maintain order in our rayon.... As decided, the strike committees will function permanently through 1 August, and then we will transform them into working committees. We will not give up power now, but all these 'democratic unionists' are endeavoring to lay their hands on it. We have seized power from the bureaucrats, as the party and the people urged. But even this is still not power. It will be real and legitimate when we have transferred it to the soviets—only not to the present ones but to those which we have still to elect. Which will be endowed with funds—payments from labor collectives."

The arrival of the long-awaited edition of the "CPSU Gorkom Information Bulletin" is greeted loudly. It already carries the protocol signed in the morning on measures agreed between the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Danshin, lecturer for the party oblast committee [obkom], whispered to me: "I will go to the party rayon committee and see how things are there." He very soon returned, upset: The rayon party headquarters was empty except for one inspector "sitting by the telephone...."

This is both the fault and the misfortune of local workers, among whom there are, incidentally, many clever and intelligent people. But what is to be done if workers have no questions for them—none, period. Most likely because local organs have no power either. All complaints and questions go to the minister and the government. But is it possible to take a back seat even in such a situation? Right from the start the first secretaries of the obkom, Novokuznetsk Gorkom, and certain other party committees recognized the justice of the miners' economic and social demands, although they could not agree with the form of the protest. [passage omitted]

The stern lessons of the 10-day strike have to be drawn and conveyed to every worker. The losses caused by the stoppage of mines and other enterprises run into many millions of rubles. More than 150 enterprises, mainly coal ones, halted their production lines. Interruptions in the supply of coal and coke almost led to an all-union catastrophe on the 5th day of the strike—the halting of major metallurgical and power production facilities. And that could have increased many times over the harm done to the country.

The latest information: Practically the entire Kuzbass was working toward the end of 20 July.

Returning Kuzbass Miners Exceed Goals

LD2407095289 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Kemerovo (western Siberia) July 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

Kuzbass miners who have returned to work have produced coal over and above a planned target for the first time since ending the strike.

They turned out so much coal by this morning that its transportation will require at least 20 extra trains, the Glavkuzbassugol [Kuzbass coal production association] territorial trust reports.

Kuzbass railway workers are actively looking for and finding ways of increasing the traffic capacity of railways. During the past 24 hours 7,200 railway cars were loaded with coal, which is 200 cars more than envisaged by the government plan.

However, transport workers need to continue this pace of coal transportation. About ten million tonnes of coal accumulated before the strike remain in the storage yards of coal mines and colliers. Interruptions with the supply of empty railway cars in the first six months of the year was one reason for the stoppages at Kuzbass mines.

Moscow TV on Donbass Strikes

LD2307222989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] Today is a day for reflection in the Donbass, a day when a responsible decision is to be made. Every day the Vremya programs are relayed to this square in Donetsk and this afternoon the miners listened attentively to the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Those taking part in the strike are discussing the measures that have been agreed upon

to fulfill their demands and were signed by the government commission and the Donetsk strike committee. USSR people's deputies from the mining towns and Viktor Grigoriyevich Kucherenko, chairman of the Plan and Budget and Finance Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, are explaining things. [video shows miners congregated in square talking]

It was easy to call the strike, but how difficult it has proved to be to find a way out of a complex and sometimes dramatic conflict. Indeed the striking miners have amassed a whole heap of problems—fair pay for their labor, their demand to manage their own enterprises, the overbearing domination of bureaucrats and bosses, the shortage of housing and hospitals, and leisure difficulties. The agreement says when and how each of the dozens of just demands will be resolved. [video shows housing units with a few families wandering about]

This is how the central square of Makeyevka looks at the moment. The miners have gone back to their mines. They are leaving the squares of some other towns and settlements. Literally just before going on the air, we filmed these turning wheels on the pile driver of one of the mines that has started working. [video shows pile driver at work] The shift here has clocked in and gone down into the pit. Rail workers are providing trucks to dispatch the first coal that is extracted. [video shows miners and coal trucks]

By no means has everyone gone back to work yet. Many strike committees are just discussing how they should proceed. [video shows crowd of men sitting in town square]

109 of 121 Donetsk Mines Idle

LD2307090789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The number of mines in the Donetsk oblast which have stopped working increased on 22 July. Out of 121 mines, 109 are idle. Many mine representatives refused to accept the draft protocol of agreed measures drawn up by the Donetsk strike committee, the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Further on Donetsk Situation

LD2307101889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Striking Donbass miners have rejected a draft protocol on satisfying their demands. They are insisting that the issue of pensions be resolved at the top level.

In the Karaganda coal basin, a decision has been made to halt the strike. The demands of the strikers have been satisfied.

Life is returning to normal in the Kuzbass. The government commission and the strike committee have signed a protocol on the agreed upon measures.

We have just been informed that the government has received a list of demands from striking miners of the Pechora coal basin that are directed at improving the working and living conditions of miners extracting coal in the very difficult conditions beyond the Arctic Circle. At the instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers, a government commision headed by Comrade Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, is now taking measures to satisfy the demands of the miners of the towns of Vorkuta and Inta.

Donbass Miners Back Gorbachev Reforms

AU2407101389 Paris AFP in English 1004 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Sylvie Lanteaume report]

[Text] Makeyevka, Ukraine, July 24 (AFP)—The coalminers in the Donbass region of Ukraine are angry and bitter, but they support the "perestroyka" reform programme of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Vasili, a miner in the Glubakaya pit's fight is not against Gorbachev's perestroyka. "I am absolutely in favour but the problem is how slowly the country is developing. I'm not reproaching Gorbachev for going too slowly. I'm reproaching the country for going too slowly."

Alexander a foreman at the large Kalinin mine, agrees: "We support Gorbachev but at the moment we're not really feeling the effects of perestroyka".

Their anger is directed against the state, the official unions, inefficiency and their harsh living conditions rather than the pit management.

Alexander said the management was "doing the best it could with the sum of misery it was given" but inveighed against the "central organs" of the Soviet state. "We sell our coal abroad but don't get any foreign currency. It's absurd", he said.

As for the unions: "They're useless", he declared. "Show me a mine in the whole country where the union is effective and I'll go there tomorrow morning".

After reassuring themselves that this correspondent was not an "agent provocateur" the miners began talking passionately about their daily tribulations—poor housing, inadequate pay and rest days despite the fact that the Kalinin mine, which employes 5,500 people, is considered to have the biggest output of any in the region.

Dimitri, 37, lives with his wife and two daughters in a three-room apartment in the small mining village of Nakrauina on the outskirts of Makeivka. Even the director of the mine, who also lives in the village comprising four new 12-storey red-brick buildings, can only boast of a four-room apartment for himself and his wife.

But at least they are better off than the 2,000 people, 30 per cent of the entire staff, who are still waiting for housing to be provided.

Vasili explains: "Employees don't have the right to ask for an apartment until they've been working for five years but you can end up waiting for up to 12 years before getting anything".

In the meantime, many miners and their families live with their parents.

What accommodation is available is of poor quality as well as tiny, but does not appear to be any worse than housing elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

As with all Soviet enterprises, the management controls all aspects of the miners' daily lives including not just pay and retirement conditions but also in providing health clinics, children's parks , sports centres, restaurants and a transport system.

One of the miners' demands is autonomy for the pits. "We regularly exceed our quotas, we sell more and more coal but the funds allocated by the state for our mines get progressively less", Alexander complains.

Conditions in the mines are tough. The dust is a perpetual problem and the heat can reach 35 degrees. Vasili often cannot have a shower before leaving the pit because there are not enough showers for everyone so he walks home covered in coaldust. His evening entertainment? Television.

His wages, at 900 dollars a month, are almost two-and-a-half times the average Soviet salary but miners are often asked to do overtime and then don't get paid for it. Ane they complain bitterly that the coal they extracted during overtime hours can lie around for weeks before being delivered to its destination.

While the miners were on strike, organising sit-ins in the town centre or negotiating with the regional branch of the party, the work of maintaining the mines continued.

The mines always have to be maintained even if they are not being worked. "If we don't maintain them continually, they will be engulfed by floods and fire damp," a mine official explained.

Union Leaders Not Active in Donbass

LD2207171989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] [Kandaurov] Rallies are being held in the central squares of the cities and mining settlements. The government commission headed by Lev Dmitriyevich Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has been holding talks with the Donetsk strike committee for 48 hours almost without breaks. Those taking part in these talks also include representatives of the strike committees from other cities. So today at noon an agreement was attained. Very many points have been adopted which will be disclosed by the government, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also by the republican bodies, which will especially focus on social problems.

Today I visited the town of Shakhtersk. There are acute social problems here compared with other cities of Donbass. Very little housing is being built. What is more, drinking water is in short supply. Hospitals are housed in buildings which are on the verge of collapse. Miners are also submitting their demands to the local authorities. In particular, they have expressed a lack of confidence in the leadership of the city party committee and the city executive committee because they have not done enough to resolve the social problems in this mining town. The miners will propose to the local party organization and the Supreme Soviet session that elections be held to replace these leaders. I wish to switch on a recording now, which I made on the square in front of the building of the city party committee where the rally continued and where the miners talked about their problems.

[Begin recording] [Kandaurov] Ivanovich Chentsov, people's deputy, of the USSR, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet from this constituency, has come to see the strikers in the town of Shakhtersk. I would like to talk to you about this: Many demands tabled by the stikers to the government commission contain a paragraph about holding elections to replace members of trade union committees and labor collective councils.

[Chentsov] I think that this is a correct point. The miners know who should represent their interests at enterprises.

[Unidentified voice] They remain detached from the labor collective and fail to be its leaders. They are unable to lead it. This is why we have decided to hold elections to replace them and to appoint reliable people to these posts who will be able to lead people and aid all workers so that the latter can have a better life.

[Kandaurov] Tell me, is the trade union supporting the strike? Are trade union leaders taking part in the strike?

[Voices] No, no, no. None of the leaders are here.

[Voice] They have alrady become an appendage of the machinery of administration and management. None of them carry out any functions any longer. [end recording]

74 Donbass Mines Still Closed

LD2307141889 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents:

Kemerovo—Life in the mining towns of the Kuznetsk coal basin (Kuzbass) fully returned back to normal by Sunday morning after ten anxious days of strike.

Many work collectives made Sunday a work-day and are busy making up for the coal production shortfalls which developed over the period of the tense situation which was accompanied with stoppages.

The round-the-clock work by the government commission led by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and by the regional and city strike committees have made it possible to instill belief in the inevitability of positive changes in the production and social spheres of the industrialised territory.

The workers eagerly resumed working. The miners of Mezhdurechensk are working steadily. The enterprises of the Leninskugol amalgamation are rapidly regaining their working rhythm, and the Prokopyevsk colliery picking up tempo.

Although the government commission still continues its work in Kuzbass, considering prospects for comprehensive socio-economic development of the region, touring big and small towns, the residents of the territory have already come to feel a real return from its activities.

The latest news has it that it has become known here that the government accepted the proposal to suspend the construction and to mothball the Krapivinskiy hydropower project on the river Ton and to carry out a thorough ecological expert examination of the project.

Donetsk—Seventy-four out of 121 mines of the Donets coal basin are out of operation so far. This is 29 mines less than on Saturday when the government commission led by Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, upon considering the demands of the miners of the region signed a protocol together with the strike committee of the region.

A telegram from Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov was also made public here. They reported that all matters on which the commission got agreement would be considered in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers without delay with the participation of representatives of the miners, and necessary decisions would be made upon them.

The joint protocol, Ryabev told TASS correspondent [redacted] has been the result of long discussions and a search for the most optimum accords.

The protocol is setting out a detailed action plan to implement the workers' demands at various levels—in the Supreme Soviet, the government, the republic, the region and the city.

It was suggested that the strike committee, in order to ensure the guarantees, be made a permanently functioning one and be granted the right to participate in decision making at all levels.

The miners of all the three cities—Makeyevka, Krasnoarmeysk and Selidov—resumed working on Sunday. Mikhail Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, has arrived in the region. He is having a dialogue with the miners who are still on strike.

Donbass Strikers Block Railroads

LD2207211889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast, presented by correspondent A. Kozhukhova]

[Text] [Video shows Moscow central control room, Ministry of Railways]

[A. Kozhukhova] Every day, apart from the usual morning sorting conference, at 2000 an operational planning meeting is held at the Ministry of Railways. Today there is one issue—empty railway cars for the Donbass miners. Donetsk, Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Voronezh, and other cities around the country are on the line. [video shows control room with displays and terminals, digital clock showing 2015; V.S. Zakharenko, deputy head of the Main Traffic Administration of the Ministry of Railways]

Vladimir Semenovich, they too are significantly lagging behind—1600 railway cars for Donbass. I have to say that the ministry would have been able to transfer these cars but the situation for quite some time now has been continuing in the Northern Caucasus is connected with that. The railway was filled with freight [word indistinct] proceeding to provide assistance for the Armenian earthquake. We've had no traffic through Vesoloye for 6 days. The railway has two ways into the Caucasus and one of these has been inoperative now for 6 days. At the moment the railway has more than 220 abandoned trains for the Caucasus, including 240 rail cars for Abkhaziya, here in the areas of Tuapse, Sochi, and Adler. This has restricted all working maneuverability in Krasnodar Kray, on the (?southern section) of the railway. We have 16 pairs [as heard] of passenger trains which should have gone through Adler. Now they all have to be added to the main route. This means diverted locomotives and crews, from Armavir to Derbent; it has taken up traffic capacity. You see, it is simply impossible to get a train through, be it loaded or empty, because the entire rhythm has been disrupted, everything has been disrupted. And somehow [word indistinct] as if nothing has happened, as if there was only the one issue of loading coal in the Donbass. But we won't get anything if we

don't get the traffic moving. I am sorry but it's time these issues were solved. [video shows Zakharenko listening to the report over speaker; shots of the control room]

[Zakharenko] After all, the average daily number of railway cars has increased in Donbass over the last few days. To all intents and purposes, Donbass has been receiving 500 railway cars more than previously—although it was a tiny bit less. The number of empty railway cars has increased by nearly 800 units. We expected that in these conditions we would get coal in Donetsk. But unfortunately instead of getting the coal, the loads went down. What caused this? We were loading practically 950 railway cars a day less in Donetsk. The strike caused it. Some 1,500 railway cars which we brought in from every region of our country are not loaded.

What is the situation in Kuzbass today? You know, we delivered to Kuzbass; if we take today all railway cars that were there at the time of the strike, there were something like 14,000 empty railway cars concentrated there. And today we are very glad that the strike is over and that the miners have finally started to load the coal. Things have got so far that we have placed the metallurgists in a very difficult situation and we would not have been able to get coking coal to the metallurgists.

Some Donbass Mines Resume Work

PM2107135589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 1

[Own correspondent N. Mokrishchev report under general heading "Miners Demand Changes": "Donetsk: Quest for Solutions"]

[Text] Central squares in almost all mining towns and rayons in Donetsk Oblast are crowded with people in their thousands. Many of them stay there around the clock, wearing their work clothes and miners' helmets, awaiting an answer to their demands. Thirty-nine of the oblast's 121 mines were not working on Tuesday evening. By yesterday, 68 mines and the collectives of 5 mine construction administrations of the Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Nikitovskiy Mercury Combine of the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy were at a standstill.

Miners in Dobropolye and Snezhnoye are the only ones not on strike in Donetsk Oblast. The overwhelming majority of Donetsk mines had not halted work until the evening of 19 July. An enlarged sitting of the "Donetskugol" Association's Labor Collective Council was held here last Monday, attended by representatives of labor collective councils from the city's mines, representatives of the Coal Industry Workers Union territorial committee, and the city party committee. A draft address to the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers outlining demands for improved working and living conditions for miners similar to those made in the Kuzbass was adopted. The address contains a request for notification of adopted measures by 25 August.

"We are in control of the situation," V. Povetkin, chairman of the Coal Industry Workers Union Donetsk Territorial Committee, said at a press conference, "and we think that miners in Donetsk city will refrain from extreme measures...."

But by Wednesday evening the building of the party oblast committee [obkom] and the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] was surrounded in an organized fashion by thousands of miners from two of Donetsk's mines, and in the evening they were joined by collectives from a further eight coal industry enterprises, including the mine named for A. Zasyadko, which is exemplary in every respect. The rally lasted until dawn. A city strike committee was formed, headed by "Yuzhodonbasskaya" Mine worker V. Bokarev.

Owing to their mistrust of pieces of paper, the miners showed a restrained reaction to a telegram from Minister M. Shchadov saying that the All-Kuzbass Strike Committee and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Commission have reached agreement on satisfying the immediate demands of all miners, who will be given economic autonomy. USSR People's Deputy T.G. Avaliani, chairman of the All-Kuzbass Strike Committee, and M.I. Shchadov asked that this be taken into account when deciding the question of resuming work at the Donbass mines. But miners are insisting that they come to the Donbass and that, in order to have total guarantees, all this be confirmed by someone from among the leaders of the country's government, the AUCCTU chairman, and the minister of the coal industry.

B.V. Kachura, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, V.A. Sologub, secretary of the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions, and leaders of the republican government and the Ministry of Coal Industry are in the oblast. Together with leaders of local party, soviet, and trade union organs, economic managers, and strike committees, they are seeking ways to resolve the questions that have been raised as swiftly as possible.

Strict workers control has been established in cities where miners are on strike in order to maintain public order. The sale of alcoholic beverages has been banned. Even the smallest attempts at lawbreaking are stopped in cooperation with the militia.

Representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for Struggle for Human Rights attempted to reach the microphone at a rally at Makeyevka's "Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya" Mine. They were immediately thrown out and told that the miners have presented their own economic demands and will strive for their solution by themselves.

Party and trade union organs have expressed solidarity with the miners' basic demands without approving of the strike as a method of struggling for this. Decisions have been made everywhere to supply the strikers with food and transportation paid for from trade union funds and enterprise resources.

L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev, and V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, have flown to Donetsk. Addressing the Donetsk miners assembled outside the party obkom and oblispolkom building, Lev Dmitriyevich [Ryabev] spoke of the powers vested in him by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and offered to have representatives of the Donetsk miners travel to Moscow and take part in the elaboration of measures to satisfy their demands.

...Six out of the seven mines in Makeyevka's Sovetskiy Rayon, where the strike began, resumed work in the evening on 20 July. The rayon strike committee, convinced that the decisions made regarding the Kuzbass will be applied to all coal industry workers in the Ukraine, resolved: The third shift should go to work. Representatives of the Makeyevka miners called on their comrades in Donetsk and other coal centers to do the same.

Strikes Cause 'Chain Reaction' in Donetsk

PM2107121489 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 3

[Own correspondent G. Dorofeyev report: "Compromises Needed"]

[Text] Donetsk—The 4th day of the strike, far from bringing relief, further exacerbated the situation. By the evening of 19 July 79 coal enterprises had stopped work—more than half the pits in Donetsk Oblast.

Two focal points of the strikes have formed in Makeyevka. One is in Sovetskiy Rayon, the other in the city center, in front of the city party committee [gorkom] building. Many miners came to the square straight from the coal face. The party gorkom and city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] are adopting measures to provide the strikers with food and drink. But the burning July sun and the uncertainty over the resolution of the demands put fowrad are not helping to lessen the tension. Emotion, rather than reason, is beginning to operate.

However, many people are already recognizing that the strike could become unpredictable. It is snowballing. Enrichment factories are under threat of stoppage.

"If they are not supplied with coal," V. Zhukov, first secretary of Makeyeva party gorkom, says, "the consequences will be dire. Stoppages will begin at by-product coke industry [koksokhimicheskiye] plants and metallurgical enterprises."

Because of shortfalls in coal deliveries, 18 enrichment factories are on the brink of stopping. The Yasinovka and Avdeyevka by-product coke industry plants, which have failed to receive tens of thousands of tonnes of coal from Kemerovo Oblast alone, are in a particularly difficult position. The situation was further exacerbated when miners at Donetsk coal enterprises, who have links with the by-product coke industry plants in the form of direct contracts for deliveries, also went on strike.

Indeed, a chain reaction has begun along the entire manufacturing chain: coal, coke, metal. The by-product coke workers' hitches were passed on to the metallurgists. On 18 and 19 July they asked the striking miners to take every possible step to supply them with coke. But not all the strike committees responded to this appeal. They are demanding the resolution of accumulated social problems.

I witnessed a conversation between A. Vinnik, first secretary of Donetsk Oblast Party Committee [obkom], and a group of miners.

"You realize," he argued, "that all the problems that have accumulated in the sector over the decades cannot be resolved overnight. It takes time. As you know, M.S. Gorbachev spoke of this too at the USSR Supreme Soviet session."

"We understand all that," the miners replied. "But we want to know precisely when these problems will be resolved, and by whom. Perestroyka should be deeds, not words. Why are they misleading us? The party adopts a decision to provide every family with an apartment by the year 2000, but the waiting line for housing is growing, and the construction of social facilities is being cut back. We are opposed to the bureaucratic edict method of managing the sector. We do not know where the money we earn is used, or how...."

Incidentally, the oblast's party organization has long been opposed to such methods of managing the coal industry, and calls on the sector's staff to face up to the miners' social needs and show concern for improving working conditions at breakage and preparatory faces. Only recently the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry began to devote more attention to resolving social problems. But time has already been wasted.

By the evening of 19 July the strike had spread to Donetsk. Columns of miners from the pit named for the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS, the "Glubokaya," "Zaperevalnaya," "Kalinin," and "Krasnaya Zvezda" pits, and many others marched toward the Donetsk party obkom building. Hundreds of miners in coveralls stood in front of the central entrance. A city strike committee was elected. A number of pits in Voroshilovgrad Oblast also stopped work.

'Normal Life' Continues in Donetsk

LD2107223589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast, correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov report]

[Text] There has been no reduction during the day in the number of mines not working in the Donbass. Miners in Donetsk and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts have continued to

strike. Representatives of the strike committees of striking mines travelled to Donetsk. An all-Donbass strike committee was established. With the government commission it will examine the final version of a mutually acceptable agreement. In the meantime a tense situation with regard to raw materials has arisen at a number of coking and chemical works. During the days of the strike they have refused to load about 3,000 railroad cars at the pits—railroad cars made available by the railwaymen which until quite recently the miners were so badly short of and which they demanded the railwaymen give them so that they could load the coal that had built up at the pits. Over the past few days people have been telephoning me from other cities and asking whether it is possible to travel to Donetsk. Aren't there any difficulties?

As you see the city is living its normal life. The city transportation and shops are working normally—except—that is, for those selling wines and spirits, which are sealed off. There are even fewer crimes being committed. Order is being maintained by the strike committees together with the militia. The townsfolk are living with their usual concerns and joys. [video shows mass meeting in center of Donetsk; striking miners, seated on the ground, signing papers; heaps of coal at pit-head; downtown street scenes, buses operating, passers-by in the streets]

Donbass Miners Reject Protocol

LD2207134289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Donetsk, 22 July (TASS)—All mines have come to a standstill in Donetsk (Donbass). Representatives of the strikers who assembled on the square in front of the administrative building of the oblast organizations rejected the draft protocol on satisfying their demands.

In the course of 2 days of uninterrupted talks between the Donetsk strike committee and the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions, this draft had been agreed for the absolute majority of the demands. The strikers insist that their conditions for miners' retirement on pension should be satisfied immediately, which is outside the competence of the local autorities, and also that acting as a guarantor for the fulfilment of their demands should be the government, from which they await an official reply.

The participants in the strike are displaying a high degree of discipline and organization. They are regularly dispatching their comrades to do work to keep the mines operational.

Pavlograd, 22 July (TASS)—Strike meetings of the "Pavlogradugol" associations are continuing on the central square of Pavlograd (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine). Seventy-four longwalls and 65 tunneling faces are not working. Some 10,000 tonnes of fuel is not being dispatched to consumers each day. Daily damage exceeds R 1 million.

During all these days, talks have been held with the united strike committee and those staging the meetings on people's return to the faces but the miners are demanding that the economic requests put forward by them be satisfied. The dialogue is proving difficult: many problems have piled up. Above all, the miners are protesting the fact that mines are without the status of independent state enterprises and that for this reason the rights of labor collectives are reduced.

Further on Donbass Strikes

LD2107190589 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Donetsk July 21 Ratau-TASS—Some seventy mines out of 121 are not working today in the Donetsk region. By today the coal output fell short of production targets by 600,000 tonnes. Metallurgical workers urge mineworkers of the Donetsk Basin to resume coal production, because a shortage of coal puts them in a critical situation.

A commission of the Soviet Council of Ministers headed by Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bureau of the Fuel and Energy complex under the Council of Ministers, started working in the Donetsk Region.

Chervonnograd (Western Ukraine) July 21 Ratau-TASS—all the 12 mines of the city are on strike today. The strike committee put forward about 40 demands to the management at a rally. They coincide in many respects with those of Siberian miners.

Heads of the regional party and trade union organisations and other senior officials are taking part in the talks. Positive solution is immediately given to local problems. The search for ways to settle the conflict is going on.

On the decision of the strike committee mines do not stop the shipment of coal to consumers.

Vorkuta (Komi Autonomous Region, Northern Russian) July 21 TASS—Only 2 out of 13 Vorkuta mines are producing coal. Miners from the remaining 11 miners are on strike. Workers from the Vorgashorskaya mine, the biggest in the Pechora coal basin, urged all the strikes to display commonsense and suggested that they resume work on Saturday. It was decided to discuss the proposal and the present situation at a city rally.

Vladimir Melnikov, first secretary of the Komi Regional Party Committee, Grigoriy Nuzhdikhin, deputy minister of coal industry of the USSR, and senior executives of the republic met with miners' labour collectives of Vorkuta today.

Inta (Komi Autonomous Republic, Northern Russia) July 21 TASS—All mines of the Intaugol Amalgamation are working. Their labour collectives support the

demands of Vorkuta miners, but they decided not to resort to strikes which are an extreme measure. An initiative committee was elected at a meeting of representatives of the Inta mines for studying proposals put forward by miners. A city rally is planned to be held on Saturday to specify a package of demands and to send it to the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry.

Polar Inta Miners Strike

LD2307175589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] We all, of course, received with satisfaction the news that the Kuzbass and Donbass miners have already gotten down to work. But here in the Komi Automous Soviet Socialist Republic, in the Pechora coal basin, it is still a long way to stabilization.

Last night the miners on strike in Vorkuta were joined by neigboring miners in Polar Inta. All mines in the town have stopped mining coal. This was the decision of a town meeting held the day before, at which the Inta workers handed to their USSR people's deputy, Vladimir Lushnikov—the young miner from the Vostochnaya mine—a whole package of demands for him to convey to the USSR Government tomorrow. Moreover, they asked him to address the USSR Supreme Soviet. If the government assures the Inta workers that it will examine all of their demands and that it will give a specific reply to each of them within 10 days, then the Inta miners will return to work on Tuesday night; otherwise, in 10 days they will resume the strike. It seems to me that this has been said sternly, sharply, and frankly, in the hope of concrete replies.

In the afternoon, the miners of the Pechora basin, Syktyvkar, and Inta watched and listened to the interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on central television. In this interview, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, in particular, that all of the issues raised by the striking miners would be discussed tomorrow, on Monday, at the USSR Supreme Soviet. This interview stimulated certain hopes among all of the miners of our Pechora coal basin. Many of these issues, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, can and must be resolved locally, but not all of them.

Here, for example, are the requests, questions, and demands of the Vorkuta miners. There are more than 40 of them and they have all also been handed to Deputy Lushnikov. Among these questions there are such as these: eliminate the Vorkuta-ugol production association and express no confidence in USSR Coal Industry Minister Comrade Shchadov. Mikhail Ivanovich [Shchadov] has been in Vorkuta several times and he has promised to improve the life of the miners of the Polar region, to help them, but in practice, unfortunately, it was just a matter of "alas" and "oh." But many of the Polar region miners are still living in barracks which were built in the hard wartime years for convicts and victims of the repression. This is why the people of Vorkuta very much want a resumption of construction of housing in their town which was closed down temporarily for some reason because of poor departmental liaison. The people of Vorkuta want, in view of the extreme climatic conditions of the Polar region, an improvement in medical services and food supplies, and an overall rise in the material and cultural standard of living—both of the miners and of all the other residents of Vorkuta. The people of Vorkuta want a quarter of all of the hard currency obtained from export output sales to be placed at the disposal of the labor collective councils of the mines, which should at last become independent enterprises.

And then there is this demand too: When a miner has worked in Vorkuta or Inta for 25 or 30 years, and would like to spend the rest of his life somewhere in the central regions, or even better, in the south of Russia, he should be given a small apartment there, if only a cooperative one. But again, it is "alas," "oh," "who needs this miner?" In a word, the demands of the Polar miners are just and in many respects urgent, so, as they say: We will survive until Monday!

Commission Meets Karaganda Miners Demands

LD2207155189 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Alma-Ata July 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Azamat Autalipov and Yerkin Zikibayev:

After a two-day strike, work resumed today at all the collieries of Karaganda city in central Kazakhstan. Other mines in the area will follow their example. The strike is expected to wind up everywhere within hours.

Last Friday, Nursultan Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee arrived in Karaganda to take part in the work of the party and government commission headed by the country's Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev. The commission examined all the 45 points of the miners' demands. It was noted that a considerable number of them had already been met in the agreement between the commission and the Kuzbass Regional Strike Committee. The provisions of this agreement are valid for all the country's coal-mining regions.

Measures worked out by the Karaganda commission were discussed at a meeting of the regional strike committee. As a result, the committee worked out a protocol of agreement which was signed by the members of the strike committee and the commission. The protocol resolves the problem of granting basin enterprises full economic and legal independence. The need is recognized for additional consideration of the responsibility of the region's authorities for neglect of social and economic issues and to hold new elections to the regional bodies of authority on an alternative basis.

Karaganda Miners End Strike

LD2207144989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Alma-Ata, 22 Jul (TASS)—After a 2-day strike, miners from all the mines in the town of Karaganda (Central Kazakhstan) today went to work. Their example is being followed in other mines as well. It is expected that the strike will end everywhere here in several hours: Taking into account that all the miners basic demands have been satisfied, the oblast strike committee decided to end the strike. It has reorganized itself into committee to monitor the implementation of the decisions made.

Karaganda Miners Return to Work

LD2207213989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Alma-Ata, 22 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondents Azamat Autalipov and Yerkin Zikibayev report:

After a 2-day strike, all the collieries of the city of Karaganda (Central Kazakhstan) have resumed work. Their example is also being followed at other collieries in the basin. It is expected that in several hours the strike here will cease everywhere, since all basic demands have been met, and the oblast strike committee has decided to stop striking and called on the miners of the basin to resume work. The strike committee itself has been transformed into a working committee to monitor the implementation of the agreed upon decisions.

It is not easy to make up what has been lost here as a result of the strikes. There has been a shortfall of more than 180,000 tonnes of coal in deliveries by the Karagandaugol production association to the consumers.

On Friday, Nursultan Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in Karaganda. From the airport he headed immediately for the city square, where a meeting of the striking coal miners was taking place. Addressing the miners, Nursultan Nazarbayev assured them that the specially created commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Kazakhstan+ Communist party central Committee, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry will analyze the situation which has arisen.

And on the same day the party and governmental commission headed by Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, began work in Karaganda. All 45 points of the strikers' demands were carefuly analyzed. It was noted that a significant number of them have already been resolved in the agreement between the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and the regional strike committee of the Kuzbass, whose provisions are valid for all the country's coal basins.

The measures worked out by the commission in Karaganda were discussed at a sitting of the oblast strike committee, at which members of the party and government commission were present. During the course of constructive discussions, a protocol was drawn up today on conciliatory measures, which memebrs of the strike committee and the commission signed.

According to the adopted document, the issue of granting full economic and legal independence to enterprises of the basin was solved in accordance with the law on state enterprises (associations). From 1 August of this year they possess the right to independently establish production norms, corresponding wage- rates and norms for servicing equipment. From the same time a single day off for all miners, Sunday, is established, as well as, from 1 July, an additional payment for work during night and evening shifts. The need is recognized to consider the responsibility of the oblast's leaders for neglecting socio-economic problems and for them to stand for reelection against alternative candidates.

Other important measures were also agreed upon.

Today Nursultan Nazarbayev, vitaliy Doguzhiyev, and other members of the commission continued their work in the towns of Abay, Saran, and Shakhtinsk.

That also turned out successfully. Everywhere in the Karaganda Basin the collieries are coming to life.

Karaganda Coal Official Retires

LD2407102589 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Alma-Ata July 24 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Azamat Autolipov and Raisa Ioffe:

Coke batteries at the Karraganda metallurgical plant in Soviet Kazakhstan are again operating as normal. Suplies of coal from the Shakhtinsk mines have resumed. Colliers of this town were the first in the Karagranda coal basin to stop work in support of the Kuzbass miners' strike on July 20. They resumed work on Saturday night when the situation in the basin had returned to normal. Today all the 26 mines of the Karagandaugol [Karaganda coal production association] amalgamation of the basin, which ranks third among the country's coal-mining regions, put out coal at a regular rate.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, head of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, assured the Shakhtinsk miners that their demands will be fully met. The decision to return to work was taken not only because datelines had been set for the implementation of these demands. The miners also responded to requests from coal consumers. The supplies of coal for coke production at the Karaganda metallurgical plant, for example, would not have lasted another twenty four hours. The decision was also influenced by metallurgical plant director Oleg Soskovets, the

region's deputy to the national parliament who returned from Moscow where he had presented the miner's demands to the country's Supreme Soviet.

On July 23, Nursultan Nazarbayev chaired a conference of the Karaganda regional party committee. He stressed in particular that the implementation of measures envisaged by the protocol signed by the members of the party-and-government commission and the strike committee must be supervised by miners themselves through the work groups, or former strike committees. The first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee also pointed out the responsibility of the region's leadership for having neglected social and economic issues and of the need for electing leaders on an alternative basis.

On Sunday Karagandaugol General Director Nikolay Drizhd announced his retirement.

"The time has come for work and sober-minded assessment," said Mukhtar Tinikeyev, a collier from Kirovskaya mine who is a member of the Soviet Young Communist League Central Committee. "The latest developments inspire hopes for accelerated economic reform, and hence, for a better future. Our hopes have been reinforced by Mikhail Gorbachev's address televised nationwide.

Further on Karaganda Strikes

LD2307205789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] The miners at 16 mines in the towns of Abay, Saran, and Shakhtinsk started work today. The strike by miners of the Karaganda coal basin has thus come to an end.

The alarm which appeared yesterday to the effect that miners of the Volyn basin and of the Ukrzapadugol association would follow the example of Chervonograd, began to subside by evening. The majority of teams went down to the pit face for the third shift, and mined about 5,000 tonnes of coal. But then meetings began at individual mines.

The position which has now been adopted by the strikes at the 60- Letive Leninskogo Komsomola mine of the Gukovugol association, [Rostov Oblast], can be described as wait and see. The point is that granting the mine the status of an independent enterprise is not resolving the problems that have been raised. Thus, apart from a reduction in the extraction plan, the miners are demanding an increase in the number of workers, and therefore in the wages fund, too. The miners are now awaiting a reply to a telegram sent to the minister of the coal industry, in which specialists' calculations have been presented.

Vorkuta Miners on Strike

LD2107184389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Correspondent Yevgeniy Zubarev report from Syktyvkar]

[Text] [Zubarev] A tense situation has developed in the Pechora coal basin. To date, 12 of the 18 mines have called a strike. They are all in Vorkuta. The demands of the Vorkuta men are also supported by the miners of the nearby town of Inta, although all the mines there are working. In Vorkuta, however—where Vladimir Ivanovich Melnikov, first secretary of the Komi Oblast Party Committee, and Grigoriy Ivanovich Nuzhdykhin, the USSR Deputy Minister of the Coal Industry, have arrived to seek a solution to the dispute—a meeting of miners has been under way at the city stadium since the early morning.

The reasons for the strike, I was told by Yuriy Alekseyevich Spiridonov, secretary of the Komi Oblast Party Committee, are the same as in the Kuzbass and the Donbass. The Arctic miners are struggling to raise the economic and sociocultural living standards in their towns and settlements.

[Begin recording] [Spiridonov] Yes, the reasons are common throughout the coal industry, or rather for the regions that are dominated by the workforces of the Ministry of the Coal Industry. But to talk about our basin, the reasons are 1,000 times more acute in the Arctic. This is partly due to the fact that the Arctic's natural conditions make themselves felt. Living conditions are very different. Our miners are still living in the same houses that were built 30 or 40 years ago—the so-called huts. And yet the mining workforces both in Vorkuta and in Inta organized worker groups, worker committees alongside the party committees at the mines and kept control of the situation. That is not the reason. The reason was—with respect to the Supreme Soviet deputies—the reason was, in my view, some clumsy comments that have been made at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which the miners took to mean that whatever had been decided about the Kuzbass related only to the Kuznetsk and the Donetsk coal basins. And the clarification on that score came exactly 24 hours late. That stirred up the Vorkuta and Inta miners. Yesterday evening we received the workforces of all the coal mines, and yesterday and throughout the night we learned of the appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov which made it clear that the demands of the Kuzbass miners were the demands of miners throughout the industry and would be resolved for the whole industry, and their call to return to work. Well, the worker groups and the strike committees are now working on formulating and rehearsing the demands, because in addition to the union-wide ones there are demands that concern us, the local authorities. All these demands are now being quickly analyzed, and what can be agreed is decided immediately. Some things

will have to be done tomorrow, some things can be put off for a year but today we must clearly and precisely work out a program and implement it.

[Zubarev] Yuriy Aleksayevich, if I understand correctly the Vorkuta miners support all the basic demands of the Kuzbass miners, but in addition there are also demands that are completely specific, prompted by the conditions of the Far North, the Arctic?

[Spiridonov] Well, there are some such demands. Few people, I think, objectively speaking, would like to spend their entire lives in the Arctic in the harsh climatic conditions. So of course, when they plan their lives, people hope to obtain homes somewhere in more favorable climatic conditions when they are working out their service. The miners agree in principle to everything. We have various state decrees about this, but they depend on the local self-managment bodies. I have mentioned just one of the problems, but there are lots of these problems. I would press you, if you can, to pass on to all our Supreme Soviet deputies a request that they should get on with their real work—lawmaking. We need that very much in the localities, including in such an extraordinary phenomenon, which is taking on a mass scale, as the strike movement. We need laws. [end recording]

[Announcer] To that dispatch from our correspondent we add a TASS report we have just received. It reports that the First Secretary of the Komi Oblast party committee, Melnikov, the USSR Deputy Minister of the Coal Industry, Nuzhdykhin, and the leaders of the autonomous republic are today meeting the miners' workforces in Vorkuta. As Zubarev mentioned in his dispatch, the miners in Inta are supporting the demands of the Vorkuta men, but have decided not to resort to the extreme measure of a strike. At a meeting of mine representatives there, an initiative committee has been elected to study the proposals coming in from miners. Tomorrow it is intended to hold a city meeting to define a package of demands, and to send the demands to the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry.

Pechora Situation Deteriorates

LD2307122289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Correspondent Yeugeniy Zubarev report from Syktyvkar]

[Text] The situation in the Pechora coal mining area has deteriorated sharply over the past 24 hours. If the Vorkuta miners were striking alone up to now, today all the miners in the neighboring near-Artic town of Inta have also stopped work. This decision was made at a town meeting of all the miners, at which the participants decided to support the men of Vorkuta.

The latter, for their part, have worked out at the intermine strike committee a list of more than 40 demands, which include calls to eliminate the Vorkutaugol association; to express no confidence in Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, and in (Shrebnov), chairman of the central committee of the industry's trade union; to have one-quarter of all hard currency received through export sales placed at the disposal of the mines' councils of work collectives; to improve the provision of housing for miners, taking into consideration the extreme climatic conditions in the Far North, and to restart the construction of a house building works in Vorkuta for this purpose; to improve medical services and food supplies; to increase the living standards of miners generally; and to give the mines complete independence.

A government commission has been formed in Vorkuta to resolve these controversial issues. It is headed by Leonid Aleksandrovich Gorshkov, USSR people's deputy and deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

Chervonograd Miners Continue Strikes

LD2207150289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Correspondent Vladimir Lyashko Report from Lvov]

[Text] Yesterday, the strike which began last Thursday [20 July] at the No 3 mine in Velikiye Mosty encompassed all the coal mining enterprises in Chervonograd. The demands of the miners put forth to the leaders of the industry and local authorities coincide mostly with those put forward by the Kuzbass and Donetsk miners.

Late yesterday evening, the strike committee decided to suspend the strike beginning today. However, the majority of the miners favored its continuation.

Miners held another meeting outside the Miners' Palace of Culture in Chervonograd's central square.

Strikes Affect Bureaucracy

PM2107133189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by own correspondent A. Parshintsev, carried as part of untitled roundup of miners' strike reports: "Common Sense Prevailed"; first paragraph is general introduction to roundup]

[Text] **The miners' strike which began in the Kuzbass has spread to other coalfields in the country. Reports that work has stopped at a number of pits have come in from Karaganda, Vorkuta, Rostov-na-Donu, and Dnepropetrovsk. Basically, the miners are making the same demands as in Kuzbass, even though the decisions adopted with regard to the Kuzbass apply to the whole sector. This testifies to insufficiently timely and effective explanatory work.**

Kemerovo Oblast—Right until late evening on 19 July it was still unclear which way the pendulum would swing—toward prudence and common sense, as urged by the joint protocol issued by the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of

Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] commission, or in the direction indicated by fervent orators fired by doubts and mistrust of the constructive decisions which have been made.

Common sense prevailed. The first announcement about the strike's end came from the oblast center's strike committee and, in its wake, a further four mining towns made the same decision. A little later they were joined by Berezovskiy, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, Anzhero-Sudzhensk, and Novokuznetsk. Prokopyevsk, where the oblast strike movement's center moved from Mezhdurechensk, was on its own on the night of 19-20 July—people were still debating and doubting there. But a decision to end the strike has been made even there.

And so agreement has been reached. All the demands of the miners' collectives have been taken into account. Some have been or are being resolved immediately on the spot, strict deadlines have been laid down for the solution of others, and yet others require analysis and specific decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet. But one point is beyond all doubt: The Kuzbass people's demands will be taken into account.

The local bureaucracy was dealt a harsh knockout blow in the past few days. Many party, soviet, and trade union leaders can no longer hold on to their jobs. It will become necessary to review most urgently the entire collection of ossified normatives and to drastically reduce the administrative and management apparatus. This was said at a meeting of the party and economic aktiv attended by members of the regional strike committee and of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU commission. Emphasis was also placed on the need for every Kuzbass resident to combine his own interests with the interests of the city, the kray, and the country.

Dozens of coal enterprises resumed work from the morning of 20 July. But some remain idle. The path to the former labor pace will be hard. The strike committees, transmogrified into working committees, are actively helping enterprise leaders and specialists to organize work.

Raw Materials Depleted by Strike

LD2107174689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Nizhniy Tagil:

[Correspondent E. Erkomayshvili] This is what the coal stock looks like today at the Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical combine. [video shows depleted coal reserves] The final, so-called emergency batch has gone into operation; it is empty at the railway section too. True, it was reported yesterday that Kuzbass coal is on the way, but that way lasts more than 4 days.

[A.Z. Smelyanskiy, manager of coking and chemical production] The furnances are without coking coal, and, at the same time, we have to hold out and make sure that the coke boilers do not collapse. A coke unit is not the sort of unit that can be halted and then started again. It will collapse in 5-7 days if we do not receive coal. Here is what I would like to say to our friends, the miners. May they achieve their targets, the targets which they set out to achieve. But it is definitely necessary to spare some thought about the technological chain in order to avoid creating a most difficult situation for the people of the coking and chemical works and metallurgical works.

[Erkomayshvili] In order to hold on, the working operations of the coke boilers have been changed. Just a third of their capacity is to be used. But there are about 40 consumers, and the consequences of not fulfilling their plan will have a grave effect on the people of Nizhniy Tagil, too.

[V.P. Rastvorov, team leader of the fitters] The miners' demands are correct. We understand them. But the point is that conclusions must be drawn from this as soon as possible, and local authorities and higher-ranking bodies have to be involved, and not in the way that it has worked out up to now. I mean that we have ended up without raw materials, which means that we have lost our wages, i.e. we have ended up out of pocket.

[Erkomayshvili] Unfortunately, this is so. Due to the reduction in the production of coke, R100,000 is being lost here every day. [video shows the furnaces and production shops of the Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical works]

Boris Yeltsin Interviewed on Strikes

LD2107192289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Interview with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin by Correspondent Sergey Medvedev in Moscow on 21 July—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Medvedev] Things were particularly heated at the sessions today when the draft bill on procedures for settling collective labor disputes was under discussion. And that's understandable: Even if the subject wasn't their field, as they say at the committees and commissions which have been working today, the deputies have nevertheless been returning, like it or not, to the miners strike that is currently taking place in our country. It's a well-known fact that the strike committee has appealed to all miners not to support their strike—the Kuzbass strike committee, that is—yet, nevertheless, the strike has spread. Boris Nikolayevich, how would you assess that fact?

[Yeltsin] Well, of course, the situation in the country is alarming and it's a condition now that is absolutely unusual for our society and for our country. This simply isn't a small, local strike, but a strike of a whole region, developing into one of an industry and there is the

possibility of its spreading to other industries in the national economy and accordingly of paralyzing the national economy. That real threat is there. But the decision of the Kuzbass strike committee to end the strike is of course a correct decision in principle, but I do not think that there have been such firm guarantees that this would have been felt by absolutely all of our country's miners. In other words, there is something in this system that hasn't worked. Not everyone has understood that this applies to all miners in our country, to the industry as a whole. And then we have the question of the guarantees. The decisions that have been taken in the Central Committee—those, too, could have been viewed as guarantees, but they have not been fulfilled. Decisions of the government could also have been viewed as guarantees, but they are not being fulfilled. So what is a gurantee today? I consider that a decision of the Supreme Soviet, on a representation by a commission working there, is such. A decision of the Supreme Soviet will indeed then be a guarantee for all of them and will be an appropriate signal for ending the strikes.

I would ask everyone, of course, to support the decision of the Kuzbass miners, and overall to display at a time that is so very grave for our country...on my own behalf and on behalf of a large group of deputies, and interregional group of deputies, I would appeal to all those who are taking part in the strike now, at such a period, to display a special sense of responsibility, of course, of responsibility to people and to the country, although the country and the leadership and the local bodies are in many respects guilty before those who have taken such an extreme step today.

Commentary Views Strike Losses in Economy

LD2207211289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newcast: EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA Observer Yuriy Tartanov commentary]

[Text] The miners' strikes have today already been echoed by multimillion losses in the national economy. The precise figure of the losses has yet to be determined. However, their immense scale can be judged at least by the fact that the miners of the Kuzbass and Donbass alone have, over this period, failed to bring more than 2 million tonnes of fuel to the surface. With every day that the works are at a standstill, the damage figures go up more rapidly. The starvation rations of coal, as we have just seen in the item from Nizhniy Tagil, are threatening the operational capacity of by-product coke production units which determine the prosperity of metallurgists and machine-builders, but ultimately also the consumer goods market, which is in a tight situation in any case.

The damage is ready to increase many times over. Such are the harsh economic conditions of existence within the rigorous supplier-producer chain. We all depend on one another. The miners are demanding an improvement in their working conditions, let us say. They need new equipment, and one can understand this. The Kiselev machine-building works of the Ministry of the Coal Industry in the Donbass is setting up serial production of the Ak-3 aggregate which makes it possible to carry out coal excavation without the constant presence of men at the face. Incidentally, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA has written about this. It is clear what a standstill at the works—and this threat is a real one—would lead to. The miners who have driven their mechanical picks into the ground will hardly obtain those better working conditions in the near future. It is an elementary example, but an indicative one. The objective nature of the overwhelming majority of the miners' demands has already been confirmed by the government commission and by party, soviet, and trade union bodies. Superfluous links in the industry, including associations, which are clearly not fulfilling their functions will be liquidated. In an extreme situation they have proved that they are useless. Did not those superfluous officials from the bloated apparatus in the industry contribute toward creating the critical situation in the mining regions? It is now apparent that they built their managerial prosperity either by encroaching on the workers' interests or by trying to attract more and more benefits from the center. But economic confusion continued to exist at a local level: the plan at any price, while millions of tonnes of coal nevertheless went for storage, not to the consumer. The day before the strike, 3.5 million tonnes of unclaimed—and thus unpaid-for—coal had accumulated on the stockpiles at Donetsk, for example. This meant that the miners' labor has not been embodied in manufactured items, the shortage of which is being felt increasingly acutely.

Today many demands, including economic ones, have been met. Mines have been invested with the rights of state enterprises, and the issues of night payments, holiday leave, and coal prices have been resolved. However, miners in new regions have joined the strikers with the same demands. Their sense of solidarity can be understood, but the measures which have been taken to meet the strikers' demands do, after all, cover the entire industry.

The situation in the Kuzbass and some other regions is now changing for the better. It is simply that, at local level, not everyone knows about this. The rhythm of restructuring of the entire mining industry will depend on how rapidly it is possible to ensure operational rhythm.

'Top Priority' Program Assesses Labor Unrest

LD2407163489 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Jul 89

['Top Priority' program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov—recorded]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov presenting Top Priority with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov.

As we are taping the show, work resumed at most of the strikebound mines in western Siberia, and in some mines in the Ukraine, but work stoppages continue up in the north in the Pechora Basin, and down south in Rostov-on-Don, and some coal fields in the Dnepr Basin. This is the worst case of labor unrest in this country and a crucial test for perestroyka, and if we also take into account the very severe case of ethnic tensions in Abkhaziya—a small autonomous republic inside Georgia on the Black Sea—the situation is indeed very grin. Now, as far as ethnic tensions are concerned, this is my personal point of view, I think it's about time we were able to make a distinction between a peaceful demonstration and violence and rioting. And in the case of the latter I think we should be more resolute and firm in dealing with such kind of violence. For example, police has reported that in Abkhaziya and Sukhumi, the capital of Abkhaziya, firearms were confiscated, including automatic weapons. But, with walkouts and work stoppages it is very different, and therefore I suggest that we look into the miners' strike on today's show and my first question is: What is your reaction, how do you feel about it? Radomir Bogdanov:

[Bogdanov] Well, I have rather mixed feelings. On one side I agree with the miners, with their demands, but on the other side I am surprised as many other Soviet citizens because if their demands have been satisfied within several days my question to the government, my question to the Ministry of Miners Ministry [as heard] is: Why they didn't do that before? Why they should, they should, we should [as heard] have witnessed the workers' unrest? It means that the bureaucratic mechanism is still alive; not only alive but still ruling. So, we need such, you know, extreme measures to break them, to force them to do something. Now, my question is: What about the Supreme Soviet? How Supreme Soviet decisions are taken by the bureaucracy? First of all, bureaucracy is still alive, if you agree with me?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, I do.

[Bogdanov] And number two, they don't care. They snap their fingers at the decisions of the Supreme Soviet.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, but as far as I undrstand the Supreme Soviet has not yet worked out legislation, a piece of legislation that would regulate labor disputes, so in the absense of...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I don't, I don't mean labor disputes. I mean the general position of the Supreme Soviet. That the social needs of this society —this is the primary object of the perestroyka. This is what should be done. And the slogan is, as you know, that the whole economy, the problem of the economy, the major problem: That we should turn it to the customer, to the people. They don't do that. That's that's...

[Kuznetsovl, interrupting] Let's look into, yes, lets look into some of the contradications, some of the paradoxes of the present situation. On the one hand we have purely consumer demands raised and pressed by the coal miners. On the other hand we have demands bordering on political. For example, I think that their demand for greater economic independence, for self-sufficiency, in our conditions, in our situation, is a political demand [word indistinct] because conservative forces and many local party and government officials hate the very idea of a devolution of economic power.

[Bogdanov] Right, right.

[Kuznetsov] Because it's been their political faction for decades.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes, yes.

[Kuznetsov] So, let me continue with this. Addressing the Supreme Soviet our president, Mikhail Gorbachev, warned that the strike may have direct consequences for the entire process of perestroyka, for the process of reform. He said that the nation could find itself at a point when it would be necessary to consider whatever, what means should be used to prevent the situation running out of control. So, it's a clear warning that strikes are not welcome. But, at the same time how can our leadership be concerned about something that's done to support, to advance the cause of perestroyka? Because this is precisely one of the political demands advanced by the miners. They want to support perestroyka, they want it to proceed at a faster race, pace. How would you explain this, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that the miners are imposing economic reform on the bureaucracy, on the reluctant bureaucracy, and I think it's clear that if it cannot be done from the top, if it cannot be done through decisions by the top leadership, if the bureaucracy is stalling those decisions, then the big question is how can it be done? And I think the miners' strike illustrates that the ideas of perestroyka have penetrated deep into the working class, and that the working class have enough consciousness and enough strength to act in support of the decisions which the buraucracy is obstructing. In that sense...

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, but at the same time it's a signal that the patience of the people is running out.

[Plekhanov] Well, look, if the people are happy, content, patient with the status quo, then perestroyka will not happen. Perestroyka is precisely the revolution that it is called because a society cannot live in the old ways and then, you know, alot of people were thrown out during the election campaign and it was also a shock and a jolt to some of the bureaucrats. And yet we think it was a very good and positive development precisely because people were sick and tired with the old leadership and I think this miners' strike—you called it the worse case of

labor unrest, I would call it the best case of democratization [words indistinct, Bogdanov laughs]. The strongest actions in support of democracy, and I am impressed with the discipline, with the political level of those miners. For instance, there is an argument that well, you're not working and there's, you know, the country is not getting coal. But there are 10 million tons of coal lying near the mines and beginning to burn because they have produced all that coal working overtime, being compelled to do so by their bosses and now all that coal is lying around, nobody's needing it. There's another illustration of how they approach the question of lack of coal: In Donbass the striking, the strike committee, received news from a metal working plant that unless that plant gets enough coal, and that's a coke-producing plant, then the plant will stop. So, they asked: How much coal do you need? They said 1,000 tons a day. They say: OK, we ship you 1,000 tons a day because we don't want your plant to stop. So, this is not some kind of anarchic crowd action where people are lashing out at the status quo. No, it's well organized; it's very conscious, and it's moving us in the right direction.

[Kuznetsov] That's why I think it's so unsettling to some people, this level of organization...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Yes, yes, but, right...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Do you recall, do you recall some television footage on one of those coal mining towns in western Siberia where a spokesman for the strike committee said that we control the situation in that place. We are firmly in control of the situation. Do you recall this?

[Plekhanov] Yes, sure, sure [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] They've taken the power into their own [words indistinct] party and government organization...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] This is, by the way, this is a very interesting phenomena. That the government commission which came to settle the dispute between miners and the authorities, or whatever it is, with whom they were dealing, members of the commission? Not with the local authorities.

[Kuznetsov] Yes.

[Bogdanov] They were dealing with the strike committees, number one. Number two: The question is where were the local authorities?

[Kuznetsov] Yes.

[Bogdanov] First of all the trade unions. They are supposed to defend workers' rights but they just disappeared. And by the way, by the way, one of the...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] [Words indistinct] I disagree with you, some of the trade union officials from the coal mining branch were on the site [words indistinct]

[Bogdanov] ...from the central trade unions, not from the local trade union. And one of the first secretaries of the party committees stated that this is a very good occasion to clean up our own ranks...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Exactly.

[Bogdanov]...because this strike showed who is what. And what is his qualities as a party political leader. And I believe that's another good side of this story, that many useless people will be just sacked.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah. Let me ask you this one: We, I think you saw it on television, you watched it on television, that upon returning from western Siberia, from one of those coal mining towns where miners were on strike, a deputy of the Soviet parliament, himself a coal miner, criticized this cautious step-by-step approach to perestroyka because he thinks it's a waste of precious time; it gives time to local officials, to bureaucrats at all levels, to regroup, rethink their positions and adapt to the changing situation. So, do you think that we should really, to save the situation, we should realy step up our reforms?

[Bogdanov] I believe this is a very difficult question. If you look at that from the narrow point of view, and I mean by narrow point of view, miners' point of view, which is not the whole working class point of view. They have their very urgent demands. But let's have a look at the whole economy, at the whole structure of the economy. And if you look at that you can understnd our prime minister's position when he states that I cannot abolish all the ministers because the chaos will follow. Maybe he is right, but at the same time, you know there is a very, very big problem—how to deal with the bureaucracy. If you don't touch them fully, I mean don't destroy them, they feel, you know, always...

[Kuznetsov] Radomir, I disagree with this point, that there will be chaos if we move faster, because if we recall the New Economic Policy introduced by Vladimir Lenin in 1921 it yielded results in about 4 years. In 1925 we had a convertible currency, we had a very solid ruble. So, that was a period of 4 years...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Pavel, yours is very strong point. But our economy today is not the economy we had 40 years ago. This is huge economy. This is [words indistinct]...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Seventy years ago.

[Bogdanov] I'm sorry, 70 years ago. This is huge economy. This is maybe four times bigger than we used to have in the 1920's. That makes a lot of difference.

[Kuznetsov] Okay. My question to Sergey: My problem is not so much this particular strike or some future strikes, because I think there will be some of them. Miners' set an example when the demands can be settled with the help of the strike.

[Plekhanov] Right, one of the things that they want is the right to strike. Now, this is very important. From now on the Soviet working class has a right to strike against the management...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yes, so, my problem is not these particular strikes, or any strike, or a strike in general. My problem is this mechanism of sabotaging, undermining reforms that's been perfected at the local level especially despite the fact that local officials, government, and party have a lot of power and a lot of freedom granted to them from Moscow to act as they see fit to change the situation. But they do nothing, they stay idle, and wait until people begin to stir, to organize, to demonstrate, and then they say ok, it's perestroyka which is to blame for all this anti-Sovietism. So what do we do about it? My idea was to set up a couple of, well, I call them show trials, ideological show trials that would be televized nationwide when some of the most notorious people from the country, from the provinces, would be invited to a television studio and there would be all sorts of questions put to them about the local situations and their particular (?private) [words indistinct], just to expose how backward and conservative they are.

[Plekhanov] Right, we're talking a lot about the braking mechanism, the forces which obstruct perestroyka, but we see very little names, very few names.

[Kuznetsov] Yes.

[Plekhanov] We don't see the real people who are responsible, I think it would, it's a challenge for the media...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Except for some press reports, from time to time we [words indistinct].

[Plekhanov] Right, right, but I mean there are many of those peple and I think they should really be brought into light. We should, they should, be given the chance to defend their actions and sometimes, you know, the media is doing that. For instance, in the city of Volgograd there is one of the boroughs of the city which is in terrible situation. They don't have paved roads, they don't have water, they don't have—they only have electricity. But the housing is in a very sorry state. But what the local authorities did was build a concrete wall, so that people coming into the city through the highway will not see the delapidated housing and those terrible roads. So their answer: I mean they spent money on building that wall [words indistinct] and when the television reporter from Moscow came and asked the local borough president what he thinks is going to happen in the next election he said: Well, I hope people will understand we are doing the best we can. He was standing against the background of a wonderful new building for the local borough council. And then of course the local residents were interviewed and said: The Hell we're gonna vote for him. (?We are going to) vote him out. So, one of the responses, one of the ways to deal with the problem, is have a good democratic election and throw the rascals out.

[Kuznetsov] My final question as time is running out on us is: I think you would agree, both of you would agree, that there's a lot of talk about such a possibility that this country may radically shift to the right and there's less talks about the alternative, that is that the country may shift to the left. Why is this disproportion in this? Is it because we are pessimists by nature of what?

[Bogdanov] First of all, look Pavel, first of all my problem is what is right what is left in this country? What does it mean for us.

[Kuznetsov] I think you know what it means.

[Bogdanov] This is, no, no, no. By the [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] The right and Left [words indistinct].

[Bogdanov] If by right you mean against perestroyka is finished, it means right, and if you mean left it...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] The acceleration of perestroyka.

[Bogdanov] Acceleration, yes, in the process. I am for the left, I am for the left. But I'm afraid that people mean something else in that, not that. It is more complex than that. But we witness anti-perestroyka forces, are very strong. Not because they are organized, not because they are visible, and clear. Because anti-perestroyka...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I wish it was visible.

[Bogdanov] Anti-perestroyka is living inside all of us because this is our generational problem. This is not because we are bad people, or ill-willing people. This is our, you know, contradiction inside [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] We are, yeah, we are (?still saddled) with conservatism, it stands deep in our heart. What is your answer to this one, to my question that I put?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think Dr Bogdanov made a very good point about the division growing inside each of us. As far as the disbalance—whether the country is going to move further down the road of perestroyka or to the right—I think it will move further. And I think the miners' strike is a key event in the sense that it shows to those bureaucrats who think that they can stall, they can wait, or they can move the clock backward; if they dare to do that work will stop in the Soviet Union and the people will not tolerate.

[Kuznetsov] Actually, what I meant by my final question was that whether we can afford staying in the middle of the road for a long time?

[Plekhanov] I believe in enlightened centrism, in the sense that the center that is rapidly moving us toward democratization and economic reform. But, I think that the art of policy is the art of compromise and this should not be forgotten. Extremism is bad.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you gentlemen. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host on Top Priority, and I was interviewing Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov, both of Moscow's United States and Canada Studies Institute. On behalf of our panel I invite our listeners to tune in again to our program a week from now at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

Gorbachev Chairs Supreme Soviet Session

LD2407072989 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 24 Jul 89

["Supreme Soviet To Focus on Miners' Dispute"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet continued its session in the Kremlin on Monday. Today's sitting is chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Before the Supreme Soviet began discussing draft laws, which had earlier been considered in parliamentary committees and commissions, Gorbachev proposed considering issues related to the current situation in the country, specifically, the miners' strikes in several coal basins.

In an interview with Soviet television on Sunday [21 July], Gorbachev said that "the authoritative voice of the working class will make everyone in the centre, in the provinces and in industry think and draw necessary conclusions to remove everything that hinders a resolute restructuring of the Soviet economy in the interests of the country and its people."

Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee Meets

LD2207140289 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliamentary committee for international affairs has begun adjusting its relations with the Soviet Foreign Ministry. At its third meeting on Friday [21 July], chaired by acting chairman of the committee Aleksandr Dzasokhov, the deputies heard reports of Vladimir Petrovskiy, first deputy foreign minister, and other ministry officials.

To preclude in future taking behind closed doors undemocratic decisions which can be of vital importance for the nation and to place the formation and implementation of Soviet state foreign policy under effective popular supervision were the main objectives key-noted in the speech of the first deputy minister. With this in mind, the relations between the Foreign Ministry and the Supreme Soviet should be based not only on principles of partnership but also co-creativity, mutual trust and understanding.

Drafting and discussing international treaties, supervising the implementation thereof and conformity of internal legislation to international standards are some of the activities in which people's deputies will be involved.

Deputies voiced a number of proposals during the meeting. They found it advisable to submit to the committee for consideration the most important ones of the great number of international agreements signed by the Soviet Union every year (nearly 400 accords were signed by the Soviet Union in 1988 alone). Criticism was also voiced at the meeting. Under fire came the yet insignificant involvement of union republics in shaping Soviet foreign policy and lack of effective interaction coordination between the Foreign Ministry and Soviet peace-making organizations and people's diplomacy activists.

With due account of the opinion of the Soviet Defense and Foreign Ministries the deputies considered and approved the proposal to ratify the additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions of August 16, 1949 relative to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts, as well as the consular convention between the USSR and Turkey of April 27, 1988.

Supreme Soviet Committee Debates Draft Law

LD2107211989 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondents:

The USSR Supreme Soviet's committee for agrarian and food issues wrangled on Friday over a draft law on land and land utilisation.

The new law is needed to solve problems in land utilisation, which have accumulated in this country. Deputies expressed concern over the squandering of land, the main national property, and about the catastrophic decline in land's fertility.

Many speakers said the draft lacks new approaches to the problem of efficient land utilisation.

Deputy Vladimir Tikhonov rejected the draft and called for a radical land reform to restore the system of landownership. He said land utilisation should be replaced

by full ownership of land by a peasant, which will give him the right to be the owner of products and profits from their sale and the right to choose customers and deliverers of resources.

Tikhonov proposed alternative approaches to the draft law on land, which centred around the issue of ownership.

Deputies found it advisable that the draft be further elaborated but insisted that this work should not take much time as the food problem needs to be radically and urgently solved.

The Council of Nationalities' standing commission for the development of culture, languages, national and international traditions, and protection of historical heritage was discussing a draft law on taxation, submitted by the Ministry of Finance, on the same day.

Representatives of the country's creative unions, invited to the discussion, criticised the draft.

Earlier this week, the committee for legislation, legality and law and order had also rejected the draft, saying that it should be further elaborated.

Representatives of the Union of Artists, the Union of Theatrical Figures, the Union of Film-Makers and the All-Russian Musical Society said the draft does not take into account specific features of creative work and that the high progressive tax rates proposed by it are not fair in respect to people of art.

Debate at the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Construction and Architecture centred around investment policy. Deputies intend to draft a law on investments as soon as possible.

To this end, they decided to meet at their next sitting with senior executives from the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Construction to hear their opinion concerning this issue and work out the parliamentary committee's own position on the problem of distributing investments in building industries in 1990.

Deputies unanimously supported a proposal to give priority to the social sphere and an accelerated construction of houses, schools, hospitals, kindergartens and cultural facilities.

The committee discussed also some other important aspects of its work.

The first session of the Supreme Soviet is to consider more than top ten priority draft laws and draw conclusions on them.

Deputies express concern over the fact that regulations on a parliamentary committee have not yet been worked out.

Comparison of Lukyanov Report to 19 Jul Session
PM2007152589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 July 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 2 the report delivered by A.I. Lukyanov at the 19 July session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Paramount Attention Must Be Given to the Instructions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Report by A.I. Lukyanov at First Session of USSR Supreme Soviet," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow Domestic Service in Russian version published in the 20 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 55-64, revealing the following variations:

Page 60, first column, first paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of a new USSR Constitution. The preparation of... (rewording)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, sentence five reads in PRAVDA: ...deeply and thoroughly. Therefore, both the... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, penultimate paragraph, final sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the USSR's economic and social development for 1991... (adding "and social")

Same page, second column, first paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...into account the directives of this document... (rewording)

Same page, same column, second paragraph, sentence five reads in PRAVDA: ...autonomy, on local economy, and local... (deleting "municipal")

Same page, same column, paragraph four, sentence six reads in PRAVDA: ...degree of responsibility. The new land... (deleting sentence)

Page 61, first column, first paragraph, penultimate sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...and land use.

As you know... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, second paragraph, sentence five reads in PRAVDA: ...initiative could serve, to a certain extent, as a kind... (adding "to a certain extent")

Same page, second column, first paragraph, sentence nine reads in PRAVDA: ...well as free intercity transportation travel... (rewording)

Page 62, first column, first paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the Supreme Soviet. It concerns working... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...already been prepared. It concerns laws... (deleting "We have it")

Same page, same column, same paragraph, penultimate sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...activities as deputy.

At the same... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, third paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of People's Deputies. This document must... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, final paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of Soviet citizens. This is also... (deleting "of each citizen")

Same page, second column, first paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...collective labor disputes. A heavy load... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, final paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks, and the development... (rewording, adding "and Meskhetian Turks")

Page 63, first column, first paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...with these problems. This is why... (deleting "and, I would say, is closely affiliated to these problems")

Same page, same column, second paragraph, sentence four reads in PRAVDA: ...very near future. It would be... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, final sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...on issues of the social and economic development of union... (adding "the social and economic")

Same page, same column, third paragraph, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the union republics.

Another question we... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, final paragraph, final sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...of strengthening peace.

Along with specific... (deleting "and the security of the peoples")

Same page, second column, second paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...from their electorate. More than 141,000... (deleting sentence)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, final sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...consideration of all substantive proposals made by... (rewording)

Same page, same column, third paragraph, third sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...This practical work needs great effort... (deleting "which is vast")

Page 64, second column, first paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...the practical plane.

The plan of... (deleting "and this is good")

Same page, same column, paragraphs five and six deleted in PRAVDA.

Lukyanov, Others Attend Supreme Soviet Conference
LD2207160589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul (TASS)—Issues related to the forthcoming elections to republican and local organs of state power and the elaboration of drafts of appropriate legislative acts were discussed in the Kremlin today at a conference of chairmen of the Supreme Soviet presidia of union and autonomous republics.

The results of the meeting were summed up by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking part in the conference were Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Republic Supreme Soviet; Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Lukyanov Discusses Meeting of Republican Chairmen
LD2007192689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Interview with Supreme Soviet First Deputy Chairman Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov by Igor Zorin; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lukyanov] This Saturday [22 July]the chairmen of the Presidia of the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics will meet in connection with elaborating laws on electoral campaigns. This is large-scale, complicated work. In many republics it is not going smoothly. Completely different solutions are being proposed about the approach to electoral campaigns and the system of local elections, especially for the local soviets. I, for example, see nothing terrible in it, if the legislation of different republics is different. This is a useful thing. But the comrades from the republics asked to exchange experience. On Saturday there will be just such a meeting.

[Zorin] That is, the center will consult with the localities....

[Lukyanov] That is, the localities will exchange experiences and the center will listen and perhaps, occasionally will make suggestions, because the elections are conducted on the basis of the legislation of the union and autonomous republics and are regulated by their laws.

[Zorin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, you are here from morning until late at night. I honestly wonder how you have enough strength for all of this, and do you not need a consultative apparatus?

[Lukyanov] Well, as for spending time (here), I think that we are all following the example of the general secretary, who has practically a 16-hour working day, without rest days, and the whole leadership of the country, which is working without rest days and travelling, mixing with people, reading a huge amount of mail; this is a very hard, difficult business but it is an interesting and worthy business. As far as a consultative apparatus is concerned, we are only now creating anew an apparatus which will permanently function at the parliament. This will take a certain amount of time because it is quite difficult to select specialists, especially as we have very few specialists on parliamentary work. We will extend this circle, will strengthen the work of the Institute of Soviet Legislation which has now been handed over to the Supreme Soviet. It is possible that we will have to create some subdivisions on the study of the nationality issue—this has become very acute. It is possible that we will have to create some kind of economic divisions. That is, we will move forward, trying not to lose quality in acquiring the number of specialists.

Ryzhkov Comments on Government Composition
LD2307160989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Jul 89

["Extract" from an interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov and an unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Nikolay Ivanovich, you have mentioned that you have seen many very interesting people here. And did not the thought come to your mind when you listened to them that you would like this or that deputy to become a member of the government?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, I had such thoughts. I looked closely at many comrades who spoke here. And I can say that I very much liked many speeches, and not only the speeches. You see, it is not just a matter of someone saying an eloquent or good word. After all, one can write everything down and so on and so on. But one can see straight away a person's intellect, his horrizons, his attitude, his decency etc. After all, this can be seen straight away. Therefore, we should have such people in mind. For, you see, although today the average age of the government is considerably younger than it was, let us say in 1984, all the same 55, which is the average age of the government today, is 55. Therefore, over the next few years or so—the time during which we are to live and to work—we need to find very many young people who could...[Ryzhkov changes thought] We should pull them up now, or in a year or two, so as to bring them near, near [Ryzkov repeats himself], for time passes very quickly. Five years will pass so imperceptibly that we will not have time to come to our senses. And the formation of the government will begin anew.

I think that it is necessary to look closely at deputies, too. There are some very interesting people. I can say that now we are taking a look at some candidatures for a number of vacant posts. Incidentally we are considering them from among deputies.

[Reporter] Can you give us a name? Who among the deputies would you like to see first being involved in your work.

[Ryzhkov] I would not like to mention names. I have several people in mind. I think that more women should be employed. And I have now commissioned comrades: Come on, I said to them, throw in your nets. In the future, non party members should also be considered. After all, there is not a single non-party member in the government.

Ryzhkov Talks About Agriculture, Ethnic Relations
LD2107091389 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet appointed a strong new government, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said in an interview published by the Soviet weekly NEDELYA today.

"We had nearly 25 alternative candidates, which the Supreme Soviet did not even know, but we nominated the best. All of them are experienced and are much younger than their predecessors," Ryzhkov said.

"One of the new government's distinguishing features is that it has many intellectuals—academicians, doctors and candidates of science."

He said that the government still had ten vacancies which are hardly to be filled before the close of the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ryzhkov expressed deep concern over the state of things in Soviet agriculture and food production. "The country should be fed. If we do not achieve substantial agricultural growth, tensions will not subside. In the first six months of 1989 we increased the food production by less that three per cent, but we need at least a five-per cent increase for people to feel some improvement," Ryzhkov said. The Soviet prime minister also expressed concerne over inter-ethnic relations and the recently-emerged strike movement.

"The most important thing for all of us today is to set ourselves to creative work. We cannot afford to disperse our forces or to try and tackle all problems at once." According to him, the state wisdom [phrase as received] of the USSR Supreme Soviet should now consist in such an approach.

Commission Assigned to Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed
LD2307002389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with USSR People's Deputy Klara Semenovna Khallik by Vremya correspondent D. Kiselev on "Problems of our Federation"; date and place of interview not given; Khallik and Kiselev identified by caption]

[Text] [Kiselev] There is an acute shortage of water in Nagorno-Karabakh during this dry summer. But the fountain that you can see was turned on for some minutes as a symbol of hospitality and hope, in connection with the arrival here of members of a Supreme Soviet commission. Their first visit was to the memorial to the natives of the oblast—Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Russians—who fell during the war. Ahead there are still many meetings, at enterprises and state farms, in hospitals, and simply in the streets. But for now, a tribute of remembrance.

To all intents and purposes, the working rhythm of the Special Administration Committee has not changed with the arrival of the commission. From the outset there has been the always proper line of cooperating with the visitors without imposing anything on them. Of course, it is impossible to predict the conclusions of the commission, but already now it is permissible to ask about the fundamental approaches to interethnic problems. [video shows an Army jeep and a dump truck approaching a road block; street scenes, including militiamen and soldiers in shirt sleeves.]

Klara Semenovna, do you not think that there is a certain piquancy in this mission? After all, in a sense you have to decide anew whether the principle of a nation's right to self-determination is valid.

[Khallik] Well, to some extent yes, because in theory we have always acknowledged the justness, the legitimacy of this principle, but we have no experience in resolving these issues in practice and hence all the complications. That is, we have not developed a technology for implementing such demands and that, of course, is why if that is what you call piquancy then that is so, that is, I would say it is a double entendre.

[Kiselev] In that case, what other principles are you going to be guided by in trying to resolve this situation?

[Khallik] I think that apart from this main principle, we must certainly have fairness in mind and that means historical fairness—or historical unfairness—because in contrast to a rehabilitation of a single man, an individual, where we can redeem our guilt at once by acknowledging our error, when we talk about a people, it is hard for us to acknowledge it, but we have to bear in mind that all the conflicts and offenses inflicted on a people continue to exist for many generations. That is the difference.

[Kiselev] And while on the subject, we have two sides here, since by now a lot of mutual grievances have accumulated.

[Khallik] Undoubtedly that is so, but I think we have to bear another circumstance in mind. If relations develop the way they have been developing here, it leads to degradation, degradation in the people who are involved in these conflicts, because violence always, in general, begets violence. That is the tragic side of this business.

[Kiselev] So the main thing is now to stop this chain of violence?

[Khallik] Without a doubt. I think that that is very important.

[Kiselev] Thank you very much.

[Khallik] You are welcome.

Prices Control Committee Chairman Interviewed
LD2207004489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Report by Andrey Nikiforov from a special bulletin "The Supreme Soviet at Work"]

[Excerpts] [Nikiforov] For the second day running today, the people's deputies have been working in the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet. This morning I attended a session of the Commission on Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy; and the Commission on the Development of Historical Heritage. How these sessions went and the issues that were decided you will hear in a moment from a recorded interview. To begin with, I would like to share my general impressions about the way this work is going. [passage omitted]

But let's return to the work of the Commission on Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy. The leadership of the People's Control Committee and representatives of the Committee on Agrarian Questions and Food were invited to the session. The issue of organizing work to check the bodies of the State Committee on Prices locally and the system of setting prices for agricultural equipment was being decided. The details are in this interview with Alina Petrovna Vedmid, chairman of the Zarya Kommunizma collective farm in the Kiev Oblast and member of the commission; and with Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin, chairman of the People's Control Committee.

[Begin recording] [Nikiforov] the first question is this, probably one for you, Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, how did the idea of joint work on this topic arise? And to whom did the initiative here belong?

[Kolbin] The initiative belonged to the Committee of People's Control, but this is not the point. The task here is not who was first to think up such an option of joint

work. The main thing is that the interests of both people's control and the deputies' commissions are being combined here. The interests of people's control can be seen in a return to the Leninist version of state public control, when the directives of the center were subject to a deep analysis by the public, workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, and when they could express thoughts on what was right and what was not in directives which had come down from above. That is, it is the Leninist idea not to permit a confusion between supervision [nadzor] and monitoring [kontrol] and to guarantee an approach to state public control of a kind that implies education at a proper level of the government apparatus, both at the center and in the localities. From 1934, the Stalinist approaches defined other versions, when it was said that we have been occupied with public affairs long enough, that we need to carry out with the help of the control bodies, control over the directives of the center, a strengthening of discipline, and only from the center. In such a way, the monitoring bodies turned into supervision bodies. And only in 1962 with the creation of the Committee of People's Control, did this body become one of public monitoring. But according to its current condition, this body has all the same turned out to be a supervision body: Social activists have also started to exercise supervision, people who have been attracted to work on control because they have been doing work on the observance of directives from above. We are setting the task of awakening initiative in the public in such a way that they, in testing the directives from above, the legislative, distributive documents of whatever sort should analyze them and work out proposals. If these documents do not resolve the issue as they should, then proposals should appear on how to resolve the issue. This is a return to Leninist approaches; and the work of the Committee of People's Control jointly with the deputies' commissions and with the Committee of People's Control jointly with the deputies' commissions and with the committees is the involvement of deputies, the people, the general public, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Nikiforov] Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, tell me please, what specific accords were reached during the course of today's discussion?

[Kolbin] I believe that today's meeting was of tremendous significance and it arouses deep satisfaction in me in that here efforts have been united for the resolution of the tasks set by two deputies' commissions and the Committee of People's Control. The task has been set to study the problem of prices for foodstuffs and industrial goods, and the second issue, those for agricultural machinery, during the course of 2 months. I think this is of tremendous significance. The work of the Committee of People's Control with deputies' commissions and committees and many others has been planned.

[Nikiforov] That is, you will definitely continue this first experiment?

[Kolbin] That is quite right. We already envisage such work in the second half of the year. Well, let's say with the Committees on Construction and Architecture. And such work as that which we have now planned together with people's deputies, and their electorate, and they will be involved in the job, in the resolution of these problems in the localities where the checks take place I believe that this is a great development in improving activeness and, besides, you know, it turns out in this way. We have been speaking about the development of democracy for a long time, and a lot is being done on its account. But democracy here, in the political perspective, has gone a long way. But in the specific, economic perspective, this democracy has not yet shown itself. And this is a way towards economic methods of management via democracy. [end recording]

Ryzhkov, Others Discuss 18 Jul CPSU Conference

LD2207110889 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Update" program: Unidentified presenter introduces "an assessment" of the 18 July CPSU Central Committee conference "on restructuring" by "Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov; Communist Party leader of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas; and Yuriy Monayenkov, a regional party leader in Central Russia"; Ryzhkov, Brazauskas, and Monayenkov recorded remarks are Russian, fading into English translation]

[Text] [Ryzhkov] The conference was very necessary and useful. It heard a whole range of different views, just as at all recent party conferences. The meeting focused on internal party issues with most speakers pointing to an urgent need for new methods of work. Willingly or not, the party has let an adminstrative style of management prevail in its (?body) for many years. Today, most party workers are well aware that they'll achieve no big transformations in society unless they assume new attitudes.

[Presenter] Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

And here is the opinion of Algirdas (Nikolaus) Brazauskas, the party leader of the Baltic Republic of Lithuania.

[Brazauskas] I concentrated on two issues in my speech at the conference. One is the need for a new view of the Soviet Union and the role of individual republics. The other is the status of the republican communist parties. True, the party needs unity, and Mikhail Gorbachev noted that in his report to the conference. However, the Lithuanian communists believe it should be a unity of ideology and goals which would let communists in each republic choose their own forms and methods of work.

[Presenter] Algirdas Brazauskas, the Lithuanian Communist Party leader.

Finally, here's what Yuriy Monayankov, a regional party executive thinks of the conference.

[Monayenkov] I spoke at the conference for improving the work of the government and trade unions, as well as party bodies at all levels. Most important, they must upgrade their work at grass-roots levels. Some of the speakers alleged that the central party bodies gave inadequate guidance to the local organisations.

[Presenter] Yuriy Monayenkov does not agree at all. In his view local organizations should work independently. The present circumstances call for creative work rather than fulfilling instructions. Yuriy Monayenkov, a regional communist party leader, sharing his impressions of the recent conference at the party central committee.

The conference focused on work in the context of perestroyka. You also heard other participants, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and the Party leader of the Lithuanian Repubilc, Algirdas Brazauskas.

Ligachev Discusses Restructuring, Nationalities

AU2107170689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Peter Vajda and Istvan Zalai: "If There Is No Restructuring, A New Stagnation Will Threaten Us—Yegor Ligachev on Agricultural Issues, Nationality Conflicts, and on Internal Party Debates"—in Budapest; date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Yegor Ligachev arrived in Budapest last weekend as head of the Soviet delegation to Janos Kadar's funeral. The name of this politician, who is currently in charge of agricultural affairs in the Soviet party leadership, can often be found in the international press in connection with debates on restructuring. Our correspondents interviewed him on the various urgent problems facing the Soviet Union.

[Vajda, Zalai] As a politician responsible for agriculture, you have also held talks on agricultural affairs with your Hungarian partners in Budapest. What is your opinion: Is agricultural practice similar in the two countries?

[Ligachev] Generally, we are heading in the same direction: Various forms of socialist ownership and large-scale enterprises, combined with small farms or, as you call them, household plots. We call the latter family farms. They reached 36 million in number. They receive a certain amount of land from the state and pay a symbolic tax on it, and they purchase young cattle and the fodder mainly from large-scale enterprises. The goods they produce are theirs, and they can sell these to the kolkhozes [state farms], the consumer cooperatives, or on the free market.

[Vajda, Zalai] What is their share of agricultural production?

[Ligachev] All in all, these family farms provide one-quarter of the agricultural products but, with regard to certain products, they provide much more than that.

[Vajda, Zalai] For example?

[Ligachev] Some 65 percent of potatoes, more than half the amount of fresh fruit, 30 percent of vegetables, 25-27 percent of the meat and milk derive from these family farms.

[Vajda, Zalai] It could be more. Recently, at a conference in Moscow in which you also took the stand, Mikhail Gorbachev said that local organs often hindered family ventures.

[Ligachev] This is obvious, although, in terms of legal regulations we stopped all kinds of limitations.

[Vajda, Zalai] All over the country?

[Ligachev] Yes, the relevant legal documents were even worked out in the individual republics. The incentives provided to agricultural production began at the beginning of the eighties. Today we are even ready to provide three hectares for an ancillary unit if necessary. The essential thing is to produce agricultural goods on this land. Previously, decisions on a farming lease were made by rather high authorities. Today, this is under the jurisdiction of village councils, kolkhozes [collective farms], and sovkhozes.

[Vajda, Zalai] Thus, will the share of these family farms increase in the future?

[Ligachev] Yes, and so will their income. In the last 6 months, their income increased by R6 billion, compared with the previous year. Recently, I visited a family farm in Kaluga which has seven cattle and many pigs. At the same time, they also work honestly in the kolkhoz. One can see that a farmer who works badly in the community has an empty household, too.

[Vajda, Zalai] Still, what is the reason behind the supply problems? Many people claim that this situation is threatening the restructuring itself.

[Ligachev] What is the matter here? First of all, agricultural production is unable to keep up with the increase in incomes. Our problem is that we are simply losing control over money circulation. Incomes increased to R40 billion last year, and already exceeded R20 billion in the first half of the current year. What farm is able to keep up with such an increase and supply the market with goods? We have reached the point at which we beat about the bush: the price reform. No matter how thoroughly we deal with wholesale and purchase prices, we will not be able to reach the high level of efficiency we expect from the price reform if we do not touch the retail prices. The truth is that the low prices clearly encourage waste.

[Vajda, Zalai] However, the price reform could also become an acute political problem....

[Ligachev] That is true. Therefore, we must carry this out by making sure that we do not violate social justice and political stability. In other words, the low-income groups of the population should receive adequate compensation. Recently, at a meeting of the agricultural committee, we discussed this issue and we came to the correct conclusion that the price policy reflects the agricultural policy, and the agricultural prices reflect the well-being of agricultural workers and of the entire society. Prices reflect the level of income. Economic experts and invited scientists alike agreed that the issue of retail prices should be solved parallel with that of wholesale prices.

Billingualism Must Be Assured

[Vajda, Zalai] Let us change the subject. There is almost daily news of nationality conflicts in the Soviet Union, news that our newspaper has also carried. The latest report came from the border between Tajikstan and Kirgizia. Many people consider this to be one of the greatest dangers threatening the restructuring. What is your opinion?

[Ligachev] Such an increase in nationality conflicts also took us by surprise. The roots of this problem are to be found in both the past and the present. Concerning the past, there were such cases in the past, too, but our mass media did not report on such cases because this was regarded as an extremely sensitive problem. Many people say that this problem derives primarily from the existing unsolved serious economic difficulties and social tensions, but I do not completely agree with this. It is true that these problems do affect the relations between nationalities here, but one has to take into consideration the fact that we are now facing an increase in nationality conflicts in the republics where people live considerably better than in other territories which, on the other hand, are calm and silent. Therefore, I think that in addition to the unsolved economic and social problems, language and cultural problems are those upon which we should focus in connection with this problem. Here we see an upsurge of the Russian language, which is not the result of some sort of central measure.

[Vajda, Zalai] Then what is the reason?

[Ligachev] Of course, this phenomenon cannot be explained by a single factor, but it is an essential fact that the Russian language has become a link that connects the different parts of our country, and this has encouraged all the other nationalities to learn it, because this language carries Soviet culture and science. History made this happen, and not the will of one person or another.

[Vajda, Zalai] Could it not be that people considered the advancement of the Russian culture in the various republic, and nationality areas to be some kind of central demand, and they acted accordingly?

[Ligachev] My answer to this is a clear no. I can give the example of Belorussia, which I visited several times in recent decades. What kind of central measure can we talk about in the face of the phenomenon that there are no Belorussian schools in the capital of Belorussia? We found only three schools teaching in Belorussian, and these schools were in the provinces. This is connected with factors such as the parents themselves considering the Russian language to be the key to success. Even if we understand this, we have to admit that it is a mistake that things have turned out this way. Therefore, we must develop the nationalities' languages by all means, while accepting that the Russian language is and will be the generally accepted, basic language. We must assure bilingualism. Our principled position is that all languages are absolutely equal. Of course, it is not easy to put this into practice when, as a result of a situation that developed over a long time, there is an acute shortage of teachers who could teach in the nationalities' languages. One side of this problem is that we must correct the serious mistakes; the other side of the problem is that we must strengthen our struggle against nationalist and separatist phenomena.

The Role of the CPSU in Soviet Society

[Vajda, Zalai] How serious are these phenomena?

[Ligachev] There are such phenomena and there are also real forces behind them. At best, we can call them extremist forces. What else can we say about the appeals for secession from the Soviet Union or for establishing Army units based on nationality? Or the demand that the all-union bodies and institutions and the organs of justice, administration, and the police withdraw from the various republics. Those who voice such slogans comfortably forget that everything that exists in the republics today is the result of the work and efforts of the entire Soviet people, and not only the result of the given republic alone. The party has the task of examining much more seriously than hitherto all the issues connected with the straining of relations between nationalities. This is the task of the party, because the party itself is the basic force that welds our society together. Therefore, those people who want to replace our one-party system with a multiparty system forget about the structure of our federative state. As far as I am concerned, I am deeply convinced that a shift to a multiparty system would strongly undermine our federative system. We must also strengthen the internationalist education of Communists within the party itself. Unfortunately, there are cases of Communists also participating in nationality conflicts. Although it is not a general phenomenon, there are cases of Communists also contributing to inciting hatred between nationalities. At the same time I would like to stress that, admitting all these problems, the hot-heads in both the Soviet Union and the West make a mistake in overestimating the aforementioned phenomena. One should not forget that the Soviet Union has

achieved great results in developing relations between nationalities. There is no other multinational state in the world that successfully stood the test of a great trial like the Great Patriotic War.

Unemployment in Central Asia

[Vajda, Zalai] What is the situation in the Asian republics? Is Muslim fundamentalism or something else behind nationalism there?

[Ligachev] Muslim fundamentalism is not the main reason. A whole complexity of factors led to the phenomena we are facing there. We had to carry out a huge task. It seems that we finally succeeded in making order in the leading strata. I mention this because, up to quite recently, a spirit of abusing one's position and corruption have contaminated almost the entire leadership in several republics. This refers primarily to Uzbekistan, and to a certain extent also to Kazakhstan, and although the press seems to have reported less about it, abuses were no less serious in Tajikstan and Turkmenstan. A lot of social problems also contributed to the intensification of nationality conflicts. In Uzbekistan alone, the number of unemployed reached 2 million. Even if we have to deduct most women from this figure because there are quite a number of families here with many children, we can still prove that some 800,000 male inhabitants are unemployed.

[Vajda, Zalai] From time to time it seems that certain processes of the restructuring initiated by the CPSU go against the party itself. For example, let us take the latest elections in which quite a few CPSU candidates lost.

[Ligachev] At times of revolutionary changes, we can often witness stages when we are facing a strong increase in difficulties before starting on the road upwards. This is happening now.

As for the candidates mentioned in your question, there are many remarkable people among those who did not receive the necessary number of votes. The reason behind their failure is primarily the fact that they did not carry out mass work among the electorate and expected the masses to take them as they were. In addition, the shortage of goods also influenced the elections, as well as the fact that the party activity lagged behind the demands of democratization and we failed to adequately perfect the political infrastructure. The lesson to be drawn is that we need to institute radical changes in our political work and in its methods and style.

We Should Take Party Discipline Seriously

Party workers should be committed to defending the democracy we have developed, and at the same time they must learn to struggle against views that are alien to us. Here I mean the views that call for the elimination of the leading role of the party and for the modification of our social order. Political methods also have priority in this struggle, but we must give an adequate response to any violation of the law. Since I have been speaking about the tasks of party workers, I want to add that a legislator is also a party worker, and I find it unacceptable when, aware of the Central Committee decision, some delegates take an opposing position, despite their party membership. One cannot accept such things when major questions are on the agenda, even if we discuss such issues relatively seldom. After all, Western political parties also take party discipline seriously and adhere to the accepted decisions.

[Vajda, Zalai] In the spirit of glasnost, our newspaper frequently carries reports on the differing views of Soviet leaders. From time to time we also read that one of your strong critics, Boris Yeltsin, called you conservative. What is your opinion?

[Ligachev] At the 19th National Party Conference I gave my opinion about this, and recently I reread my speech and did not feel the need to institute any changes in my original position. In addition, I also had a lot of opportunities to criticize, but I did not do this, nor will I do this, because I do not think it is fair to create a label first and then stick it on someone. This is contrary to the party line and contrary to the spirit of true comradeship. Besides, I also oppose the attitude which is characteristic of some people whereby they regard everything that we carry out on the basis of the party decision and that is favorably accepted by society as something that is to their own credit. I would suggest such comrades start dealing with fulfilling the real demands of restructuring. Those who have the aforementioned attitude did not do anything in practice for the benefit of restructuring last year, except for talking. Restructuring is the main issue for us, all of us must work for it and this is the way to rid ourselves of the current difficult situation. If we fail to carry out restructuring, we will again condemn our country to a long period of serious backwardness and stagnation. If there is consensus on restructuring, of course we can have debates on its pace, methods, and means, even among certain Central Committee members, and we should not dramatize this. However, we need active consensus on the main question, the question of restructuring.

[Vajda, Zalai] Thank you for the interview.

Ryzhkov Addresses Religious Organization Seminar
LD2107203489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—A reception was held in the Kremlin today on behalf of the Soviet Government in honor of the participants of the World Council of Churches Central Committee session, which is taking place in Moscow.

Welcoming the representatives of Christian churches and religious organizations from many countries meeting for the first time in Moscow at a session of the

Central Committee of the largest international ecumenical organization, Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers Chairman, said that he sees the fact that the session is held in Moscow as a sign of the great changes taking place in the life of our society.

"We have every justification for saying that relations between church and state are developing normally. And that is completely natural, since the vast majority of clergy and believers are patriots and they support restructuring and the new approaches to state-church relations in conditions of socialist renewal and democratization," he said.

Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasized that the clergy's activity is directed toward the currently very necessary consolidation of society, at inspiring in people respect for each other and developing the humanistic principles in our life.

He recalled that modern law-governed socialist state is being formed in the USSR, and that work is in hand on the draft of one of the most important legal acts—the law on freedom of conscience and religious organization. "This document is being drafted in the light of the new approaches toward state-church relations, and in accordance with the spirit and essence of restructuring and the democratization of Soviet society." He expressed the hope that the church and believers will take a still more active part in the struggle against antisocial phenomena and also spoke with respect for the churches' participation in voluntary foundations.

Nikolay Ryzhkov gave a high assessment to the active peace-making work of the church and its participation in the struggle for disarmament, for a nonnuclear, nonviolent world, and for international cooperation. However, in his opinion, quite a few pressing problems must still be resolved to bring about a genuine normalization of interstate relations. "This is ridding mankind of starvation, illness, the great gulf between the living standards of rich and poor countries, ecological and other global malaises, eliminating all forms of inequality, racism, and putting an end to regional conflicts."

Nikolay Ryzhkov noted the developed role of the public, and popular diplomacy whose efforts blend in a common stream, directed into the track of comprehensive human progress. "And the church has been making a considerable contribution to that noble cause" he said. In conclusion, the Soviet premier wished that the church representatives' efforts will serve for the benefit of the present and future generations of all the world's peoples.

Emilio Castro, secretary general of the World Council of Churches, noted in his reply speech that the participation in the Moscow session can feel friendship and hospitality, above all, on the part of the church. Representing many nations and states, we are now involved in jointly resolving the main issue—enabling people to understand one another.

The events taking place in your country, the guest went on to say, introduced the following two words to all dictionaries of the world, "glasnost and restructuring." They do not only generate general interest, but can also be heard in the prayers of many believers around the world.

The new thinking, which is asserting itself in the world affairs, he said, offers a unique chance to build qualitatively new relations among the states. To achieve that, in the speaker's view, it is not enough to reach mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States, but it is necessary that calm and justice prevail in the "hotspots" of the globe—Nicaragua, the RSA [Republic of South Africa], Ethiopia and other places.

The World Council of Churches secretary general expressed gratitude for the hospitality and warm reception.

Further on Ryzhkov Council of Churches Address

LD2207011389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches is continuing its work in Moscow.

[Correspondent A. Sturva] A reception, attended by Comrade Ryzhkov, was given in the Georgiyevskiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace today on behalf of the Soviet Government. Gathered in the hall were members of the Central Committee of this influential international religious organization, its staff, and representatives of churches in the Soviet Union belonging to the Council. The World Council of Churches was formed in 1948 and brings together more than 300 Christian churches from many countries.

Addressing the guests, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said;

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] First of all, I would like to give a warm welcome to the authoritative representatives of the Christian churches and religious organizations from many of the world's countries gathered for the first time in Moscow for a session of the Central Committee of this major international ecumenical organization, the World Council of Churches. In the fact that this sitting is taking place in the capital of the Soviet Union, one cannot fail to see one manifestation of the great changes that are taking place in the life of our society. The changes have also affected relations between state and church. We have every basis for saying that they are currently developing normally. And this is quite natural, for in their mass, the clergy and the citizens who are believers are patriots of their country: They support perestroyka and the new approaches to relations between church and state under conditions of socialist renewal and democratization. As was rightly observed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, we have a common history, we have one fatherland, and we have a single

future. I am confident that both believers and nonbelievers are united in their attitude to noble moral and ethical ideals and that they strive in an identical manner for the implementation of the aspirations common to the whole of mankind. Radical, all-embracing perestroyka is taking place in our country in order to get rid of everything that is alien to the nature of socialism and to impart to it its original humane meaning. [end recording]

[Sturva] In conclusion Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Peace, justice, integrity of creation—such is the motto of your meeting. One can only welcome the fact that humanistic ideals permeate your work and that it is moving in a fruitful direction. May your efforts serve the well-being of present and future generations of all the world's peoples. [end recording]

[Sturva] Dr Emilio Castro, secretary general of the World Council of Churches, made a speech in reply. He noted that the processes of restructuring that are taking place in our country are being closely followed throughout the world. People wish them all manner of success. He also expressed warm thanks for the reception that had been given to them. Then a relaxed friendly conversation took place between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and those taking part in the Moscow meeting. [video shows Ryzhkov addressing the guests at the reception, Castro addressing the reception]

New Political Group Comments on Restructuring

LD2107183289 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad July 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Davydov:

The members of a new socio-political organisation, the United Front of the Working People of the USSR—come out in favour of introducing serious adjustments to the processes of perestroyka.

"Our programmatic documents proclaim a drive for communist landmarks of perestroyka," Mikhail Popov, a Leningrad sociologist, one of the coordinators of the front, stated here on Friday.

"This means a consistent assertion of social equality, the strengthening of people's friendship on the basis of the advantages of the division of labour within the framework of the entire country, rectifying inequality in the socio-economic development of the republics, and a balanced economic management in the interests of and under the control of the working people."

The coordinators of the front, speaking at a meeting with journalists on Friday, brought to their attention a charter, a declaration and a number of pleas to the working people on major questions of the country's socio-political life.

Commentaries to the documents emphasise that they accumulated the discontent of the workers engaged in the state sector of the economy over the orientation of some of the current reforms.

This applies first of all to certain tendencies in the development of the cooperative sector which irritate the workers who also expressed dissatisfaction with the party leadership which, in the opinion of the participants in the front, slackened control over the current processes.

The front promises to conduct its activities within the framework of the Soviet Constitution, with a strict observance of laws and without resorting to violence for solving arising problems.

Abkhaziya 'Special Regime' Stipulations Explained

PM2007122189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent Vl. Arsenyev dispatch: "Abkhaziya: Special Regime Introduced"]

[Text] Sukhumi, 19 Jul—By a resolution of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, a special regime for citizens' conduct [osobyy rezhim povedeniya grazhdan] was introduced throughout the autonomous republic's territory as of 2300 local time 18 July. For example, the movement of personal motor vehicle traffic before 0600 hours has been banned in Sukhumi. Anyone found in the streets at that time was detained by patrolling subunits of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Forces. The local authorities deemed that the situation would prove impossible to normalize otherwise.

True enough, it did appear as if emergency measures would not be required following the joint address to the Abkhaz and Georgian peoples and the entire population of the Abkhaz ASSR by G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Khishba, first secretary of the Abkhaz Georgian Communist Party Oblast Committee, in which they called for everything possible to be done to put an end to the interethnic dissension.

"It is still not too late to counter blind emotions by sober thinking," the address said. The tremendous explanatory work done all through the past few days by leading officials from party and soviet organs who met people in different rayons of the autonomous republic, and the actions by law-enforcement organs, had inspired hopes that the situation can be normalized and stabilized by other means. Nonetheless, it so happened that the Internal Forces have now been assigned the duty of imposing order, especially at night, and using force should the need arise.

Unfortunately it cannot be ruled out that the need might arise—especially in the countryside, where it is not so easy to confiscate weapons from people and where the situation remains acute. In Sukhumi itself, the airport had already resumed operations 18 July. Special flights carried vacationers, primarily women and children. The first trains went on their way. But the city transport was not operating, nor were many enterprises and stores.

In the morning of 19 July I read through a release prepared for the mass media by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] MVD Press Center. It said that no casualties were reported among vacationers in rest homes, boarding houses, sanatoriums, and young pioneer camps during the clashes. But the situation in the republic remained tense during the last 24 hours. Militia Senior Lieutenant R. Chochiya, traveling back in his own motor vehicle at the end of his duty shift, was killed by hunting rifle fire on the road between Gudauta City and Primorskoye Village in the afternoon of 18 July. I was told that the previous night was generally calm. Thirty persons were detained for breaches of the special regime.

The No 1 Georgian Secondary School lies some 200 meters away from the building of the Abkhaz ASSR MVD which, looking at the large number of militia staffers and Internal Forces personnel armed with assault rifles and pistols, is reminiscent of a front-line headquarters. On 13 July the approaches to the school were blocked by Abkhazian demonstrators who were against the operation there of an admissions commission from a branch of the Tbilisi State University. Nonetheless, and despite the close and seemingly frightening proximity of the autonomous republic's main militia forces, the school was destroyed....

Georgians and Abkhazians have different explanations of the causes and effects which produced the present wild outbursts of passions in the autonomous republic. As a matter of fact, and even prior to these events, there were equally different interpretations of the multiplicity of problems preventing the Abkhazian and Georgian peoples from trusting each other. Unfortunately, it all ended in bloodshed. Nobody managed to prevent a tragedy which had been building up for quite some time....

All reports carried now by central newspapers on events in the Abkhaz ASSR are read here—both in Sukhumi and in Tbilisi—with great attention. For example, a report in IZVESTIYA issue no 199 generated an extremely negative attitude among the Georgian SSR's Georgian population. It was perceived as having a biased and one-sided approach to events which aggravated the already complex situation, and this was said in official announcements carried by republic television in Russian and Georgian on the evening of 18 July. It was emphasized that the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee expressed disagreement with the report carried by a newspaper which is respected in the republic. Rallies were held in Tbilisi. A group of young people displeased with the IZVESTIYA report came to the building housing the IZVESTIYA correspondent's office.

I would like to emphasize that, in the article in question, I reproduced information I received by telephone from Tbilisi, prior to my arrival in Sukhumi, from an official of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department. The dispatch contained no other material about the situation in Abkhaziya on 17 July.

Update on Ethnic Unrest, Strikes in Abkhaziya

Railroads Severely Disrupted

PM2007164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Valeryev report: "Zeros on the Screens of the Ministry of Railways"]

[Text] 20 July, 1000, Ministry of Railways Automated Traffic Control Center— A. Stepanov, the chief traffic controller, agrees to accord me only a couple of minutes while he tears himself away from the VDT, a pile of documents, and a battery of telephones.

In connection with the events in Abkhaziya, some of the passenger trains destined for Georgia or transiting Georgia are at the moment diverted via Baku, and some of them are sent as far as Adler, where they are turned around and sent back in the direction they came from, Aleksandr Sergeyevich says. Freight trains have to be "abandoned" on neighboring railroads. We are parking them at stations along the route. More than 150 trains with various national economic goods—petroleum, construction materials, and food—are waiting for the go-ahead to enter the Transcaucasus Railroad. The situation on the Donetsk, Southern, Pridneprovsk, and other railroads is fraught. On the North Caucasus railroad, for instance, there are great difficulties with shipping Kuban wheat. The 700 freight cars currently needed there are not materializing. That is to say there are freight cars but they cannot be delivered because of the great concentration of freight destined for the Transcaucasus Railroad at stations along the route....

[Valeryev] I can feel a certain tension in the operation of the center. Or am I imagining it?...

[Stepanov] No, it does exist, and that is understandable. Planning has become more difficult. An element of chaos has emerged. Many sections are crowded with trains, and railroad workers cannot always give a clear-cut answer whether or not they will be able to let another train through. Naturally, we give priority to passenger trains. But freight trains are a problem. We have nowhere to put them anymore....

[Valeryev] Do you see any way out of the present situation?

[Stepanov] I see only one solution: Ending the conflict in Abkhaziya.

[Valeryev] If it ended tomorrow, how much time would you need to restore the normal working routine on the railroad?

[Stepanov] Ten days, at least. As far as passenger trains are concerned it would not be too difficult, but as for freight trains... They have been "abandoned" in the station sidings where loading operations are normally Carried out. It will be difficult to pull them out of there in a hurry.

[Valeryev] What is happening to the passenger trains stranded near Sukhumi?

[Stepanov] They have been unhitched, as we say—that is to say they have been dispatched in various directions.

[Valeryev] Are the railroads affected by the strikes in the Donbass and the Kubass?

[Stepanov] While experiencing an acute shortage of freightcars, we are forced to operate them half-empty in those regions. A vast number of freightcars are marooned in sidings. Take the Kemerovo Railroad, to cite just one example: The norm for this railroad is 6,000 freightcars. Meanwhile 14,300 freightcars have already accumulated there to date....

The minutes which were allocated to me have expired. The chief traffic controller returns to his job. Leaving the center, I pass a vast tableau on the wall which features the main junctions between the different railroads. Above each junction there is a screen showing how many trains have passed through each junction in either direction. A traffic control center staffer draws my attention to the "Veseloye" junction. It is located in Abkhaziya. It is the epicenter of all the events. Zeros shine on the screen: No trains in either direction....

Our latest telephone call to the Automatic Traffic Control Center was at 1300 hours. The chief traffic controller told us that the situation remains unchanged.

Urban Transport 'Paralyzed'

PM2107125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 8

[Report by Special correspondent V. Chertkov, under the rubric "On Events in Abkhaziya": "Don't Wait for Rush Hour"]

[Text] Sukhumi, 20 Jul—Dogs bark loudly, crazed by the unaccustomed silence descending on uneasy Sukhumi at night. I wait —perhaps a train will frighten them, and I will be able to get to sleep. The railroad is outside the window, but no way will it come to life until morning. The steel route to Moscow, Tbilisi, Baku, and Yerevan, usually very busy, has fallen silent, and people hurrying to the beaches on the other side of the track no longer look both ways as they cross the rails.

Striking railmen are exacerbating the already complex and tense situation in the region. For the steel artery is the nerve of the entire organism. And things are still uneasy on the roads, where any transport is liable to be attacked, particularly at nighttime.

Early this morning a Kamaz truck heading from Leningrad to Sukhumi was fired on, And the driver was injured. It turned out that he did not know about the special conduct regime introduced in the territory of the Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic, and the people who opened fire did not even ask him to stop.

Not only railroad transport but also urban transport is paralyzed. It is a problem to get anywhere at all, particularly as the fuel shortage is becoming increasingly difficult. This is like a malignant tumor: One cell paralyzes the next, and so forth.... You encounter piles of garbage and broken glass and stinking waste at every step in the city. The weather is hot, and an epidemic is not far off. The majority of industrial enterprises and establishments are idle. In Sukhumi the multinational collectives of the dairy plant and the bread combine have not stopped work, setting an example of lofty duty.

Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, commander of the internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], said at a meeting with representatives of informal associations from the Georgian section of the population:

"It is time to prevent bloodshed. Interethnic feuds have claimed 18 lives. Today 96 people are in the hospital; 9 of them are in serious condition. I assure you that soldiers will not turn their weapons on the people, but I beg Georgians and Abkhazians to find points of contact and to resolve arguments in a fraternal manner."

Not only have dozens of combat weapons been confiscated, but a lot of explosives, hundreds and hundreds of kilograms, have also been found among the population. The Tbilisskiy Operational Regiment has just discovered 102 kg of explosives, 130 detonators, and 120 meters of safety fuse in an abandoned well in the village of Shroma in Sukhumskiy Rayon. Pistols, rifles, and submachineguns fall into people's hands from rayon departments of the militia, the armed guard, the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, and the "Dinamo" Society. Obviously, it is time to declare a curfew in Abkhaziya in order to put a stop to the activities of all kinds of bandits. Major V.I. Shoshin told me that last night soldiers were fired on as they headed for a secret weapons cache following a report from a city resident. It is true that the report proved false, but it turns out that someone wants to sow panic among the population: See how many weapons dumps there are in the city.

Among the criminals freed from Zugdidi Jail by extremists five had been sentenced to death. They are being hidden and are still at liberty. But it must not be forgotten that such people will stop at nothing. And they will make no distinction as to nationality.

Local party and soviet organs and leaders of USSR MVD subunits are doing everything possible to alleviate the situation, to emerge from the impasse, and, in the end, to urge the two sides to sit around the negotiating table and find common scenarios for a solution to the problems.

'Individual Conflicts' Continue

LD2107162489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—A TASS correspondent has been told at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that the situation in Abkhaziya and adjacent rayons of Georgia remains complex and tense. Individual conflicts continue between groups of citizens of Georgian and Abkhazian nationality. Groups of armed pickets are still appearing on the roads, especially in the outskirts of Sukhumi and in Gudautskiy rayon. Units of the internal security forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the police, continue to confiscate firearms from the population. In the past 24 hours, 18 guns, 100 cartridges, a grenade, and a homemade explosive device have been taken. In all, since the start of the events, 4,257 firearms have been confiscated and put in storage.

Last night an unidentifed person caused an explosion at a house in the village of Tabisupleba in Sukhumi rayon. In the town of Sukhumi, a homemade device was thrown through the window of a house. There were no casualties. An investigation is under way.

Last night, 65 calls were made by Sukhumi residents about pickets appearing [words indistinct]. Militia emergency squads went out in response to each call. A number of the calls were not confirmed. In the village of Chadar and in the new housing districts of Sukhumi shooting occured.

The most varied rumors are spreading throughout the town. Measures are being taken to inform the population of the true situation and the operational circumstances and actions of the internal security forces and the militia.

After a 4-day interval, newspapers have begun to be published in Abkhaziya. In the past 24 hours, 4, 322 passengers have left via Sukhumi airport.

It is reported that many industrial enterprises and public and rail transport are still not working in Abkhaziya. In the agro-industrial complex, 11 out of 48 enterprises are not operating due to absenteeism.

Since the start of the conflict, 452 people have sought medical assistance. Six of them were in serious condition.

National Hostilities Fanned

LD2207034789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] We shall dwell on the events in Sukhumi. The town is still full of the most incredible stories about alleged dangers. Someone is continuously fanning up fears and whipping up national hostility. Unfortunately, programs broadcast by Georgian and Abkhazian television in the last few days have not promoted the stabilization of the situation. Some of them were obviously provocative. Each rayon of the republic has its own operational group. Altogether, about 200 specialists of various qualifications have been engaged.

In the morning of 21 July, all food shops and some manufactured goods shops were open in Sukhumi. Due to the absence of transport for delivering goods, however, the shelves are becoming increasingly empty with every passing hour. The Republican industry is returning to life. Of the 29 enterprises, 12 are working, albeit partially. Still, despite the gradual stabilization of life in the Republic and the law and order enforcement carried out by the internal troops and militia, the situation remains tense.

2 Killed by Gunfire 21 Jul

LD2207075589 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 22 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov]

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—The situation in Abkhaziya and the adjacent areas of Georgia, which were hit by week-long unrest on ethnic grounds, continues to remain tense. There were no drastic changes on Friday [21 July] either. Public transport is not running, a number of economic facilities do not operate, workers of the Sukhumi railway car shed continue the stoppage.

Meetings of residents of the Abkhazian and Georgian nationalities, involving a total of about 700 people, took place in the cities of Sukhumi and Gagra on Friday. They discussed the situation and ways to end the conflict.

A mobile group, wich was clearing up barriers set up by residents of villages and confiscating weapons, came under fire from hunting guns by unidentified persons at Ostapi Village, Ochamchirskiy District, on Friday evening. Viktor Novikov, 31, student of the Leningrad higher polytechnical school of the USSR Interior Ministry and senior Lieutenant of militia, and Vladimir Akopov, 18, a student of the same school, were killed by the fire.

A report has come just now from the temporary USSR Interior Ministry press centre in Sukhumi that 170 kilograms of ammonite and 550 power cords with explosive devices were found and seized in a deserted cavity in shrubs at Lindava Village of the Sukhumi District.

Military Command Issues Appeal

LD2207145389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Sukhumi, 22 Jul (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports:

Despite all the measures being taken by party and local soviet bodies, the militia and USSR Internal Affairs Ministry servicemen, and the broad explanatory and propaganda work aimed at stabilizing the situation in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. The situation there remains tense.

An appeal from the command of the military operational group to the citizens of the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] states that there are possibly forces who are not averse to setting the population against the servicemen in order to provoke the troops into using weapons—something that has never happened in Abkhaziya. The appeal urged people to stop the extremists and prevent further bloodshed.

According to the daily report by the press service of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were isolated shots last night in Sukhumi rayon, and a home-made explosive device was set off near a house in the village of Tavisupleba. As before, there are instances of the civilian population setting up pickets on the outskirts of Sukhumi and in Gudautskiy rayon.

"The situation in the region is extremely tense," Colonel General Yu. V. Shatalin, head of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, said at a briefing for journalists. "This is because the population on both sides have a large number of weapons. However, we have sufficient forces and experience to maintain order and guarantee the population's safety throughout Abkhaziya, where a regime of special conduct of citizens has been installed. Internal affairs troops are keeping watch on all roads, and all the most important facilities are being guarded. The safe departure of children from pioneer camps and of people on vacation is being fully ensured."

As a result of the measures being carried out there is a trend towards reconciliation in a number of population centres.

It was emphasized at the briefing that it is impossible to stabilize the situation in Abkhaziya today without a stabilization of the position in Western Georgia, where tension is growing. Rallies involving large gatherings of people are being held there. There have been more attempts to attack rayon militia departments with the aim of seizing weapons.

Lieutenant General S. Lisauskas, deputy USSR minister of internal affairs, and other senior officials of the Internal Affairs Ministry and Procuracy of the USSR are in the rayons of Western Georgia to analyze the situation.

Enterprise Strikes Continue

LD2307060589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0527 GMT 23 Jul 89

[TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov report]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jul (TASS)—According to information of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the situation in the Abkhaz ASSR [Automomous Soviet Socialist Republic] remains complex. As before, armed pickets formed by civilians are posted on the outskirts of Sukhumi and Gudautskiy Rayon, on the roads. Public transport and most enterprises are not working, and the strike in the Sukhumi locomotive depot continues.

According to information of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, a tense situation prevails in other regions of the Georgian SSR, too. There, measures are being undertaken aimed at confiscating seized weapons from the population, finding and detaining the criminals who escaped from the prison of the town of Zugdidi on 16 July, and preventing clashes caused by interethnic strife. Another five escaped criminals have been apprehended and returned to a remand prison.

Sukhumi Freight Train Traffic Resumes

LD2307193189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Freight train traffic resumed today on the Transcaucasus railway.

[Correspondent P. Guskov, identified by caption] In the morning at the Abkhaziya Ministry of Internal Affairs, we journalists are handed information bulletins from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center. In the past 24 hours the situation has remained tense. It is not simple today, either. But many Sukhumi citizens sighed with relief this morning when they saw a normal picture in many respects. Buses, trolleys, and taxis operated on many routes. [video shows street scenes, cars, trolleys, people walking] For more than a week trains have not run on these rails; they are already covered with rust. Yesterday we visited the locomotive brigade strikers. They showed us an electric locomotive damaged a few days ago on one of the routes. [video shows a locomotive with broken windows, a group of men] What have the strikers been demanding?

[Y.B. Blazhievskiy, head of the Transcaucasus railway, identified by caption] Locomotive brigades at the Sukhumi depot have demanded the resolution of two issues: first, some changes in the leadership of the autonomous republic—and by the way this question was resolved at the plenum yesterday—and second, to ensure law and order and personal safety. This question was also fully resolved with the leadership yesterday. At

0300, the railway, the locomotive depot, started work. Work is building momentum and we think that in 2 to 3 days the traffic on this section will be back to normal.

[Guskov] The first trains, so far only freight trains, have left for Sochi and Tkvarcheli. The Sukhumi station on the Transcaucasus railway is resuming a normal work pace. [video shows moving freight train, Sukhumi station building] What is your assessment of the situation on the Transcaucus railway and the immediate prospects for arranging work here?

[B.D. Nikiforov, deputy railway minister, identified by caption] You know, the volume of work ahead is not only great but very great indeed, simply vast, because on the approaches—from the Samtredia section, from the Georgian side, and from the Sochi side—on the way to Abkhaziya, more than 300 rail cars have accumulated, and there are hundreds of trains in transit to various Georgian towns, including to the coast. And, therefore, of course, it is not simple to get this many trains moving. This will be done, however.

Trains started running today; we sent electric trains on their way today. At 0630, an electric train set off and we are planning one for about 1230 and to start running suburban and local trains today. I think that today and tomorrow we will restore traffic to the coast. Longer distance trains will also be let through today, those that cannot be diverted via Baku, which are not very suitable for diversion, that is the Yerevan train 55 which we will let through now, then the Tbilisi train, and, of course, the Sukhumi trains. All the other trains will, over the next 2 to 3 days, be working according to the previous schedule and then we will gradually restore them (?to normal), keeping in mind that in the republic, in many respects, there are no more resources.

'Limited' Public Transport Started

LD2407093489 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 24 Jul 89

[By TASS Correspondent Nikita Demidov]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS— At 5:00 a.m. (Moscow time) work resumed at the locomotive depot of Sukhumi, capital of the Abkhazian autonomous republic. The city had been torn by inter-ethnic clashes since the middle of the month. A limited public transport service has also started.

Reports from the USSR Interior Ministry say that the situation is under control though it has not changed in substance and remain tense. Twenty-two people were detained for violating the curfew. On Saturday, two people were killed during the detention of an armed group—Militia Senior Lieutenant Viktor Novikov and Interior Ministry School Cadet Vladimir Akopov. Even so, the troops have not used weapons since the conflict flared up.

On Saturday night, the Abkhazian Regional Communist Party Committee held a plenary meeting to replace some of the leaders of the Abkhazian party organization. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Abkhazian Republic relieved the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and his first deputy of their duties and made new appointments.

Internal Troops Chief Interviewed

LD2307093189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] As you know, comrades, special conditions for the conduct of citizens have been introduced in Abkhaziya in connection with the ethnic conflict. Thus, we reported yesterday that a tragic event took place in this autonomous republic yesterday. Senior Lieutenant (Viktor Novikov) and Cadet (Vladimir Okopov) died. Our reporter interviewed Colonel General Yuriy Vasiliyevich Shatalin, chief of the USSR Internal Troops.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Yuriy Vasiliyevich, the situation is very serious, very tense. In your opinion, what is the main trouble at the moment and where does the greatest complication lie?

[Shatalin] The greatest complication now is the events unfolding in western Georgia. They constitute the greatest danger. The rayon is Zugdidi, since all the leaders of the unofficial associations, starting with (Gonzakhurde) and ending with (Kostavo) are there.

[Reporter] What is happening there, if you can give more details?

[Shatalin] A headquarters has been formed there. Formations under the guise of national self-defense are being formed. Of course, the Abkhaz population will not go to Zugdidi; there is no need to protect oneself from them. [as heard]

[Reporter] We know that in Abkhaziya now thousands of firearms are in the hands of the people, and that the confiscation of weapons is proceeding very, very slowly. When do you think that the moment will really come when there will be no automatic weapons, no hunting weapons in the hands of civilians in the republic, since after all, in such a heated situation every firearm could literally go off at any moment?

[Shatalin] As soon as the situation stabilizes, only then will it be easy for us to confiscate quickly all the remaining weapons. At the moment it simply is not possible. At the moment, the population is not helping us. Without the population, without the people, we alone cannot confiscate weapons in a short time. What we are confiscating for the time being is only confiscated by the forces of the troops, or by chance, or on the basis of information given by citizens. However, few such pieces of information come to us. Why do I say that after a stabilization we will need little time? Because these arms

are now in the hands of extremists in full view of the whole population. A large proportion of the population knows who has the arms, but at the moment fears to speak, or keeps quiet out of involvement or solidarity. They will speak only when there is a stabilization. Then we will carry it out properly.

[Reporter] You know we are all eagerly awaiting this stabilization. I understand I am asking an improper question, but nevertheless, what do you think? When, in your opinion, might this wave of mad straining of nerves, of grief and emotions, abate?

[Shatalin] I think that a week or two more are needed. I say this on the basis of the experience I have in connection with Fergana and other events. Usually a wave of this sort abates when people feels a stabilization in about 2 weeks. What are the complications here? All these rumors of all sorts and disinformation, but when people understand that all these rumors have simply been dreamed up... Two weeks are needed for this. They will talk it out; they will jabber it through, and then it will stop. I am simply determining that period from experience. [end recording]

Commentator on Resignations, Inquiries

LD2307185889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] [Commentator Vladimir Bezyayev] Now about a subject that gives us no pleasure, but is a cause of alarm to us. All this week we have told you about the state of affairs in Abkhaziya, where as a result of a considerable worsening of interethnic relations a special regime for civil conduct has been introduced. Our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich is again on the line with us.

[Lazarevich] The past 24 hours have been relatively peaceful in Abkhaziya, but this is peaceful according to our Sukhumi yardstick. Last night there was scattered gunfire but there were no armed clashes. I cannot say that tension has abated. No, but there are symptoms of positive changes. Work on confiscating firearms from the population is being conducted effectively. In the past 24 hours, some 250 guns were confiscated. In various villages talks are taking place between representatives of Georgians and Abkhazians about holding reconciliation gatherings. Trolley buses have appeared on a few routes in Sukhimi.

Today you stop and think: Would it have been possible to prevent or avoid the bloody events that took place this week? Of course, Abkhaziya's leaders could not fail to have known about this situation.

At the plenum of the Abkhaz oblast committee of the Georgian Communist Party, the majority of the members of the bureau, in connection with the sociopolitical situation, which has become complicated, and with the tragic events, assessed their work self-critically, and handed in statements resigning their office. Six members of the bureau have been expelled. Among them are the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the autonomous republic; the chairman of the Council of Ministers; his first deputy; two secretaries of the oblast committee; and the first secretary of the Sukhumi town party committee.

In Sukhumi, a meeting took place between journalists and Georgian Procurator Vakhtang Apollonovich Razmadze.

[Begin recording] [Razmadze] To investigate the events of 15-16 July and the results that have come in there is a team of investigators and flying squad members. The team is made up of 94 investigators and just as many flying squad members. The investigators come from the Russian federation, Georgia, and Abkhaziya. To render assistance, deputy chief of the chief investigation directorate of the USSR Procuracy (Minashev) and senior procurator of the directorate Yefimor are also maintaining supervision together with us. We have just started investigation (?in these groups).

[Lazarevich] When the Sumgait cases were tried, I happened to hear to my great regret how the relatives of those being convicted—who received fairly long sentences—said, what are you trying to do, make these boys take the rap for everything? You do understand that they were egged on and that they were only the instruments while there was a brain directing all these actions.

Is that not what will happen and is the investigation being conducted in such a way as to detect the organizers of what took place, if there were any?

[Razmadze] We have separately instituted criminal proceedings under Article 75 of the criminal code of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, which envision criminal responsibility for stirring up national hatred between peoples. We are collecting materials to confirm that they are guilty of this incitement and I think that we will without fail take all measures to prosecute these people for stirring up interethnic hatred. [end recording]

Georgia Plenum Relieves Abkhaz Obkom Secretaries

LD2207171689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1642 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Sukhumi, 22 Jul (TASS)—Today a plenum of the oblast committee of the Georgia Communist Party was held. The plenum released Mikhail Tsuladze and Said Tarkil from the posts of party obkom secretaries.

L. Khaburzaniya, who formerly worked in the apparatus of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee was elected second secretary of the Abkhaz party obkom. The plenum elected V. Avidzba obkom secretary.

By decree of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, Otar Zugbiya, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic, and his first deputy, V. Tsugba, were relieved of their posts.

Givi Anchabadze was appointed Abkhaz Council of Ministers chairman, and V. Mikamba was appointed first deputy.

Givi Gumbaridze, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary spoke at the plenum.

Georgians 'Dissatisfied' With Plenum

PM2307175589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Vl. Arsenyev under the general heading: "Situation in Abkhaziya"]

[Excerpts] Sukhumi, 23 Jul—A number of responsible workers of the autonomous republic have also submitted letters of resignation. They are party oblast committee [obkom] bureau members and candidate members. But the resignations have not yet been considered.

On the morning of 23 July, members of the Georgian section of the population arrived at the party obkom building. They expressed dissatisfication with the plenum decisions which, in their view, were only half-measures, and with the fact that a "principled assessment was not made of the obkom's cadre policy." This matter is interpreted in different ways by Georgians and Abkhazians. [passage omitted]

According to militia reports, there were no recorded armed clashes or any other serious incidents between Abkhazians and Georgians on 22 July. Some 243 firearms, including 7 submachineguns, 1 pistol, and 23 rifles were either voluntarily surrendered by the public or confiscated by the law-enforcement bodies. There were 46 flights out of the airport, carrying 3,804 passengers, and 54 motor ships left port with 615 people. Trolley cars are once again on the streets of Sukhumi.

'Activist' Calls Firings 'Superficial'

AU2307140489 Paris AFP in English 1038 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 23 (AFP)—The sacking of several top officials in Soviet Abkhaziya met a wall of indifference Sunday, and tension between Abkhazians and Georgians in the semi-autonomous republic remained high, TASS news agency said. [passage omitted]

Igor Markholia, a leader of the Abkhaziya People's Forum, told AFP in a telephone interview that the sackings of the officials were only a "superficial" move. He said the "same policies, geared toward Georgian interests, will continue" in the republic and accused Georgian "chauvinists" of agitating for separation from the Soviet Union.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian activist in Tbilisi, said the replacement of party leaders in Abkhaziya would have little effect on the situation there. He said those officials "most responsible" for the outbreak of the violence between the two groups would remain in their posts. Mr. Gamsakhurdia confirmed that a general strike in Georgia had been called for Monday to protest the events in Abkhaziya.

Abkhaziya, while having semi-autonomous status, is inhabited mostly by ethnic Georgians and is largely under the administration of the Georgian republic. Abkhazians there have said they want to be given full autonomy. Both groups say they are the victims of oppression from the other, and each has blamed the other for the outbreak of the violence. [passage omitted]

Georgian Nationalist Calls for General Strike

AU2207141489 Paris AFP in English 1103 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 22 (AFP)—A Georgian nationalist has called for a general strike in the republic on Monday [24 July] to protest against separatist violence in Abkhaziya and to demand the dismissal of several Abkhaziyan officials. Zviad Gamsakhurdia told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the general strike had been called by the "Committee for Public Safety", an informal group of nationalist movement leaders.

The Georgian Popular Front confirmed the strike call. Strikes had already begun in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital on Saturday, Mr. Gamsakhurdia said. The strike would continue until the "demands" of the Georgian population had been met, he added.

The Georgian nationalists are calling for the resignation of senior officials in the autonomous republic of Abkhaziya which is part of Georgia. Officials blamed by the Georgians include the president of the Abkhazian supreme soviet (parliament), the republic's ideology minister and the first secretary for the region of Goudaouta.

According to official figures, 21 people have died since clashes broke out between Abkaziyans and Georgians last week.

Strikes Held To Protest Deaths

AU2207154689 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 22 (AFP)—Georgian nationalists on Saturday called a general strike to step up pressure for a clampdown in Abkhaziya, while the death toll from a week of violence in the autonomous republic rose to 21. The mainly Moslem population of Abkhaziya

in western Georgia has erupted in a week of violent protests to demand a complete split from Georgia. Georgian nationalist Zviad Gamsakhurdia said Saturday that a republic-wide general strike had been called by a Committee of National Salvation from Monday to protest against the violence and demand the sacking of several Abkhazian leaders.

The Georgian Popular Front group in Tbilisi confirmed that the call had been made, while Mr. Gamsakhurdia added that stoppages had already been started in some parts of the republic capital. He added that there were also strikes in parts of western Georgia and that tension in the region was very high. Mr. Gamsakhurdia, contacted by telephone from Moscow, alleged that the violence in Abkhaziya had been controlled by Moscow "as a punitive action against Georgians and the Georgian nationalist movement."

The security forces were biased toward the Abkhazians and confiscated arms belonging to Georgians, he added. "The Abkhazians are KGB agents." He said the general strike would go on until Abkhazian leaders, including the autonomous republic's ideology chief and Supreme Soviet president, had been sacked. According to Mr. Gamsakhurdia, an Abkhaziya central committee plenum was to be held in Sukhumi on Saturday and Georgian Communist Party leader Givi Gumbaridze was in the Abkhaziya capital.

A spokesman for the Popular Front contacted by telephone in Tbilisi also stepped up attacks on the Abkhazian population. He said the Abkhazians had never been mistreated and renewed Georgian claims over the autonomous republic along the Black Sea coast. The spokesman said the Abkhazians had come "down from the mountains" and that they did not even have a word for "boat," which proved that their people did not originate in the coastal region.

Congress Report Says Baltic 'Occupation' Illegal

LD2307113789 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Report by correspondent Thomas Nordegren in Tallinn—recorded]

[Text] The Soviet Union admits that the occupation of the Baltic States was illegal. Sources in the special investigation commission, which was appointed by the new USSR Congress of People's Deputies, say today that it will be established that the Soviet takeover of the Baltic States in 1940 was contrary to international law. The occupation was based on Hitler's and Stalin's division of spheres of interest in 1939 in the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Moscow also admits for the first time officially the existence of a secret additional protocol to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

In a month's time, 23 August, it will be exactly 50 years since Hitler and Stalin concluded this agreement, which meant the end of the independence of the Baltic states. The investigation commission's work has been hurried to calm the mood in the Baltic countries before the big demonstrations expected on the 50th anniversary. But the final report also includes a typical Soviet rubber-stamp paragraph: In talks on the position of the Baltic union republics, consideration must be shown for the present geopolitical and demographic situation. This can more or less be interpreted as Moscow saying: Okay, we admit that we occupied you illegally in 1940, but 50 years have passed, many borders were altered during World War II, and now many Russians live in your country.

Here in the Baltic countries, the new signals from Moscow are, however, interpreted positively. The admission gives us a legal basis to carry out a national referendum in which the citizens can decide whether they want to belong to the Soviet Union or not, says a leading representative of the Estonian Communist Party. But the question is, who is to be allowed to vote: Only those who lived in Estonia in 1940 and their descendants, or should all Russian immigrants now living in the Baltic countries be allowed to vote? And what is to be done with all the military personnel who are stationed here more or less temporarily?

The outcome of a national referendum is not self-evident, either. A recent opinion poll showed that 56 percent of Estonia's population wanted Estonia to secede from the Soviet Union. But the relative majorities may change. In those parts of the Baltic countries where the Russians today are a majority—in northeastern Estonia, for instance—political leaders have already said that the borders must be changed if Estonia becomes free.

The Baltic states still have a long way to go before independence, and no one knows today whether they will reach their goals. But today's new admission from Moscow gives a breathing space and new hope.

Anniversary of Annexation of Estonia Observed

Russian Workers Defy Demonstration Ban

LD2107171889 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Now over to Estonia. Today is the anniversary of the Soviet annexation of Estonia. And in Tallinn thousands of Russian workers defied the ban on demonstrations and celebrated the controversial jubilee.

[Correspondent Thomas Nordegren] I am in Tallinn harbor. Over 10,000 Russian workers gathered here to celebrate the anniversary of the Soviet assumption of power in Estonia, which took place on 21 July, 1940. The celebration of Stalin's assumption of power is seen by many Estonians as a grave provocation, and the Tallin city administration banned today's demonstrations. But the Russians, who have organized themselves in the

so-called Interfront, defied the ban, left their places of work today, and came here to demonstrate their anxiety over the Estonian struggle for liberty. One can read on banners and placards, among other things: The Socialist fatherland is in danger; No nation, no language is to have any privileges; Only workers can defend the Soviet power; Down with the Estonian falsifications of history; and, Prosecute the agitators of hostility between nations.

Despite the militant slogans everything has so far gone peacefully. The Estonians have followed the calls not to go out into the streets and have stayed at home, and I have not seen any counter-demonstrations.

The Interfront leadership urged people to remain peaceful and show restraint. It also said: We must not have similar fights in the streets as have occurred in other union republics. The speaker, who concluded the meeting, said the following, among other things: The hour of destiny of the fatherland has come. We Russians have only a few weeks left to act; otherwise, we will be turned into second class citizens in Estonia, or else we have to pack our bags and go east.

Thomas Nordegren, in Tallinn harbor.

Collectives Union Organizes Rally

LD2107201689 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Forty-nine years ago today, Soviet power, which had in essence existed before, was established [words indistinct]. Today's anniversary is meaningful in many ways for us [words indistinct] from events which were held for the occasion.

At a meeting at the Tallinn political enlightenment building, recognition of the historic truth and justice and a better future for Estonia were demanded. At a rally near the Linnahall, however, slogans and demands from the Stalinist past were voiced, which, to the chagrin of certian circles, will not be restored.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the political enlightenment building, a meeting dedicated to the 49th anniversary of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and organized by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Estonian SSR Council of Ministers was held. Enn-Arno Sillari, head of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Tallinn City Party Committee, chaired the meeting. Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, made a report. Ulo Nugis, chairman of the Estonian Union of Work Collectives; Rein Veidemann, representative of the Estonian People's Front board; Adress Tarand, representative of the Estonian Green Movement; and [name indistinct], president of the Estonian Nationalities Association, spoke.

[Correspondent Mart Aare] Regarding the rally today which was organized by the United Council of Work Collectives, I doubt very much that 35,000 people were present. There were perhaps some 10,000-15,000 people. The procession in columns did indeed take place, and, as we all know already, the meeting began at 1500, in defiance of the resolution of the city executive committee. It was more or less known to us that this was the path which the United Council of Work Collectives would follow. In principle, everything went according to the scenario which we had foreseen. [Sentence indistinct] To a large extent, they repeated the demands of the 14 March (?meeting); that is, as before, there were protests against the law on language which disturbs the non-Estonian population. But to a certain extent there were new aspects. We are talking here about the threat to start a [word indistinct] on 24 July if the demands of the rally participants are not met. And should the election law be adopted at the Supreme Soviet session, it was declared that the strike committee will begin to organize a political strike and [words indistinct].

What is interesting is that at the rally a protest was made particularly against citizens' committees, because they will begin to become a big organ of power. Yet at the same time the protestors want to set up a third organ of power [passage indistinct]. So that alongside the Soviet power, the citizens' committees want to exist, and also the organs of power of the Interfront. And at the same time, (?one has to admit) that the Interfront has already begun to shape its organ of power, because there exists at the United Council of Work Collectives an executive committee with salaried (?staff) [passage indistinct].

Correspondent Interviews Participants

LD2107222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Flyarkovskiy report]

[Text] [Flyarkovskiy] From early morning in Tallinn, the flags of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic have been flying. On 21 July 1940 Soviet authority was restored in Estonia. The gathering of the public of the city of Tallinn devoted to this event will take place today in the house of political enlightenment of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. It has been planned for this evening. Right now, in the afternoon, a meeting has begun next to the Gorhalle building. It has been organized by the Estonian intermovement, by the combined council of work collectives, and by certain other organizations who today reflect the interests of the section of the Russian-language population of the republic. [video shows correspondent against a background of a meeting in a big square; a poster reads: Bring those who incite interethnic hostility to court; correspondent shown interviewing a man]

Judging by the slogans people are carrying here, this gathering is not directly connected with the anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia.

[I.N. Shepelevich, deputy chairman of the combined council of work collectives, identified by caption] I declared this openly in a newspaper, when there were attempts to accuse us of wanting to organize an alternative celebration of this holiday. We announced that we will not say practically a single word about that at this meeting and our meeting is in defense of our civil and constitutional rights.

[Flyarkovskiy] Many are troubled by the fact that this gathering has been organized during working hours. Was that necessary?

[Shepelevich] We have also had to answer that question. For the most part, all enterprises in our republic finish work at 1500. That means the bulk of the workers finish then. Therefore, from a legal viewpoint, the beginning of the meeting is after working hours.

[Flyarkovskiy, to second man] Excuse me, please. What document have you just read at the rostrum?

[M.I. Lysenko, worker at elektronika production association, identified by caption] A declaration of the strike committees of the republic's enterprises.

[Flyarkovskiy] What does it contain, briefly?

[Lysenko] I can say one thing and it is our demands which are currently indicated here, we demand of the republic's government that these demands be fulfilled. This is because all the demands expressed on 14 March have not been satisfied. Moreover, the republic's government is now issuing even more unconstitutional laws that totally encroach upon the rights of our Russian-language population.

[Flyarkovskiy] Approximately how many people are at the meeting right now?

[Unidentified man] Somewhere around 35,000—over 30,000 people.

[Militia man] Well, 10,000 people, no more than that.

[Flyarkovskiy] What do you think? Will your assistance be required? [video shows the crowds]

[Militia man] Not up to now. Since last year when such mass gatherings started [words indistinct] our assistance has almost never been required.

Medvedev Tours Estonia, Meets With Officials

LD0707072689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT 6 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by Kh. Lenk from Estonia]

[Text] Comrade Medvedev's visit to Estonia is continuing. Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev today visited the crop farming and land reclamation research institute and also the (Saku) experimental sovkhoz. The institute and the farm converted to full financial autonomy and self-financing over a year ago, but unfortunately the real effect of this has as yet not been felt. The fact is that in th eopinion of the farm's specialists the state purchase prices do not correctly reflect the outlay on milk production. Purchase prices in Estonia are, for instance, only half of those in Leningrad oblast, and yet the latter area is absolutely no different from Estonia with regard to climatic conditions. [video shows Medvedev and others walking through fields]

Comrade Medvedev also visited a young peasant family. (Seriya) and (Veluensov) are one of 500 Estonian families who have decided to become farmers. [video shows Medvedev visit with family]

A number of serious problems were also raised at a meeting with journalists. Readers and journalists are troubled by the fact that the restructuring processes in Estonia's political nd social life are not always adequately covered in the pages of the central press. The republican newspapers, editors said, simply do not have sufficient pages for a real discussion with the public. Audience research shows that interest in the mass information media is constantly mounting among the public. Compared with last year, for instance, the Estonian Telegraph Agency has increased its flow of information fourfold. The issue was also raised about the need for an all-union daily newspaper, on whose 15 pages journalists from each republic might cover the progress of restructuring in their region. [video shows Medvedev in room with journalists]

Comrade Medvedev also had a meeting the same day with representatives of the leadership of the United Council of Estonia's Work Collectives.

Says Financial Autonomy Justified

LD0707180289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is on the third day of his visit to Estonia. You already know about the events of the last 2 days from central press reports and from radio and television. Now I will tell you about today's events.

Vadim Medvedev's agenda is very busy, but nevertheless he found time for a meeting with representatives of the most diverse public organizations and movements in

Estonia. Since this morning, there has been a meeting with the Intermovement [interdvizheniye] leadership, and following it, with the creative intelligentsia. In essence, the questions were the same, as they are in general at all of these meetings on Estonian soil: How is the Estonian economy to develop further? What can republican financial autonomy do to improve people's lives? And next, the Estonian language needs to be protected. How can guarantees of sovereignty for republics be created that will broaden their rights and improve interethnic relations? Only the approach to these questions was different between the Intermovement and our writers, and artists. If, on the one hand, there demands to protect the interests of a narrow circle of people, then writer (Vladimir Beysman), artist (Enn Pyldros), producer (Kalyu Kiisk), and others said that it is only in the interest of all Estonian inhabitants for Estonian culture to continue for ages to come, that the native language does not disappear because it is not wanted, and that everybody should feel protected on this soil. Common efforts and understanding are needed. This is in the general interest and for a common future. We do not have serious disagreements. Therefore, there should be no confrontation, either. This idea was also supported by Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev.

This is his first visit to Estonia. How does he view our republic? Here is a special interview for our broadcast:

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] In general, you see, my view is formed not only on the basis of the visit, but also on the constant information we receive, on communicating with Estonian comrades, and on other sources. The image is confirmed of Estonia as a very business-like republic that is striving for things to work better, so that the economic efforts of the working people of Estonia will yield results, so that things will be better in both industry and agriculture, and so that national requirements will be satisfied more fully. In the republic, everybody is very much looking forward to the transfer to republican financial autonomy. I think that this is a justified wish and I think that great feats in the life of the republic will be connectd with it, with the creation of conditions under which the people will see better the results of their work, will work better, and will resolve all problems at a higher level.

[Unidentified interviewer] [Words indistinct]

[Medvedev] Of course, yes, but we all, both in the center and in the republic and in all labor collectives, at all levels, in all cities, need to analyze and resolve interethnic problems very carefully, also taking into account the interests of first and foremost of the Estonian nation, of course, and of all citizens who live in the republic's territory, and to find mutually acceptable solutions. I think that restructuring provides the necessary grounds for this. [end recording]

Talks to Social Movements Members

LD0707163389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1434 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Tallinn, 7 Jul (TASS)—Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Estonia for 3 days. These 3 days were all filled with meetings and conversations in working collectives, with representatives of varied social organizations, and at movements of the creative and scientific intelligentsia of the Soviet Baltic republic. Vadim Medvedev met the republic's party aktiv this afternoon.

Having touched on the problems of economic reform, Vadim Medvedev noted that the concept of republican financial autonomy in Estonia, which envisages a radical replacement of the administrative methods of managing the national economy with economic methods and in a number of points differs from that used by the general union, would be considered by union bodies in the most attentive and benevolent fashion.

At the same time, he emphasized that in order to reduce tensions in the republic a dialogue was essential and compromises must be found. The process of the self-determination of nations had begun and would continue, Vadim Medvedev said. However, he noted that the combination of the rights of the nation and civil rights was the central question in the contradictions existing in the republic.

"Mutual understanding must be sought in these issues," he said. "National self-determination and national rights must not lead to the violation of general civil and general human principles."

These thoughts also could be heard at Vadim Medvedev's meeting with representatives of the Estonian Popular Front and Intermovement, the most significant of the social movements. Vadim Medvedev also spoke about this in a conversation with representatives of the United Council of Working Collectives, which unites 160 enterprises which are primarily under union subordination, and the Union of Working Collectives of Estonia, consisting of around 1,100 enterprises that are primarily under subordinate to the republic.

"The key to success is dialogue and mutual understanding"; this thought has run through all of Vadim Medvedev's conversations with the inhabitants of Soviet Estonia.

Notes Impressions, Results of Talks

PM1107092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Dialogue Is the Way To Solve Problems"]

[Text] V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been in Estonia recently. He has visited labor collectives and has had a number of conversations

with representatives of various sections of the population, the creative and scientific intelligentsia, the party aktiv, journalists, representatives of the Tallinn Garrison, and activists from various social organizations and movements.

A broad range of problems connected with restructuring processes in Estonia and the country as a whole was touched on during the meetings and conversations. A central place among them was given to questions connected with seeking ways to resolve the contradictions and problems which have arisen in interethnic relations, restoring the Leninist principles of the socialist federation, giving real substance to the sovereignty of the union republics, and transferring the republic to economic accountability.

A frank discussion about economic reform and the difficulties it is encountering developed at the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Combine, one of the biggest enterprises of its kind in the country. Representatives of the collective strongly criticized the present system of distributing the enterprise's profits, including foreign currency income—a system which does not have a vested interest in improving work efficiency. It was noted in this connection that the first economic accountability model, which the combine currently employs, has exhausted its possibilities. Cardinal changes are needed in the economic mechanism if progress is to be made.

In reply to the question from the CPSU Central Committee secretary as to how they view the combine's place within the republic economic accountability system, M. Markovich, general director of the combine, said that the collective is in favor of republic economic accountability, because it will make it possible to better appreciate the relationship between the results of the enterprise's work and the social development of the region, city, and republic. At the same time, he expressed the thought that the transition to republic economic accountability should be based on considerations of economic expediency and improvement in the economic conditions of activity by primary links in the economy.

Describing the sociopolitical atmosphere in the collective, A. Yepikhin, secretary of the enterprise's party committee, said that in the 3,000-strong, multiethnic, primarily Russian-speaking, collective there are healthy relations between the representatives of different nationalities, that complete mutual understanding is being preserved, and that no complications or conflict situations have been observed.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was interested in the workforce's assessment of the results produced by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and in their expectations regarding the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on national policy. Worker R. Blazhis responded. He said that the Congress was an enormous step forward along the path of democratization, glasnost, and frank, direct discussion. We hope that this line will be developed. At the same time, in his opinion, there is an impression that a great deal was said but very little actually resolved. But obviously this is only the beginning. Active work must now be done by the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions. And we expect cardinal solutions from the CPSU Central Committee plenum to problems in interethnic relations.

In the enterprise workshops, V.A. Medvedev was interested in working conditions, labor organization, and wages and talked with workers and specialists. It was noted during the conversation that the enterprise has enormous reserves for freeing manpower by mechanizing the production processes. This is particularly important in the conditions of the republic, where the demographic situation and migration processes need to be normalized.

V.A. Medvedev also visited the Estonian Scientific Research Institute of Land Cultivation and Reclamation and the "Saku" model-research state farm (sovkhoz). Representatives of the Estonian Farmers Union, the Central Union of Peasants, and the "Greens" movement took part in the meetings and conversations held here. They talked about the economic and social problems of rural areas and ways to develop the republic's agriculture. They also discussed the questions of creating more stable economic conditions of management in rural areas and improving price formation. It was noted that Estonia has achieved great success in the output of livestock products. At the same time, land cultivation indicators are considerably lower and the republic has vast inner reserves and potential for increasing feed production and strengthening the feed base of the livestock rearing sector.

Agricultural workers expressed concern at the serious shortage of new types of modern agricultural equipment, particularly compact equipment, and at the poor quality of machinery produced in the country.

The development of varied forms of relations in agriculture, including individual peasant holdings, was noted at the meeting. There are now 500 of these holdings in the republic and their number will have doubled by the end of the year. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited the recently restored village of Esko, where Vello Eensalu works with his family, and showed an interest in the possibilities of, and prospects for, individual farms.

During his visit to the republic, V.A. Medvedev had meetings with the leadership of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] United Council of Labor Collectives, the Estonian SSR Union of Labor Collectives, the People's Front, and the International Movement. They were distinguished by their lively, multifaceted exchange of opinions on the questions of developing the

federation, broadening the rights of the union republics, introducing republic economic accountability, state language, citizenship, and electoral law, and assessing certain historical events.

V.A. Medvedev had a detailed discussion on ways to shape public opinion and on the role of the press in this process at his meeting with members of the republic's mass media. The participants in the conversation noted the importance of the central press paying greater attention to the processes taking place in the republic and of more detailed, objective analysis of these processes. They expressed ideas on more fully involving local journalists in the coverage of these issues and also proposals on establishing a special publication concerned with life in the national union republics. During the conversation they discussed the work of republic and local mass media, which is not free of flaws and mistakes which give rise to a negative reaction.

The problems of developing the national culture and language were the focus of attention at a meeting with the republic's creative intelligentsia. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the cultural policy of perestroyka opens up broad scope for developing national cultures—the greatest wealth of our society, which no one has the right to ignore.

V.A. Medvedev had a meeting with the republic's party aktiv, which proceeded in an atmosphere of frank, lively discussion of the sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in the republic. The speakers self-critically assessed their work and spoke of the need to enhance the role of the republic's Communist Party and the initiative of party committees and more incisively assess a number of new trends and phenomena. They raised the question of defining clearer positions with regard to them and to the process of restructuring as a whole in the conditions of the republic. They raised a number of problems that must be resolved in the CPSU Central Committee.

V.A. Medvedev addressed the meeting. Touching on the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which are now being vigorously discussed in society, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the Congress has crucial significance for the country's development. The real process of transferring power to the soviets has begun, and, in this connection, the role of the party is changing and new demands are being made on its work methods as the political vanguard of society.

This process is complex and contradictory. Now, when the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the political system has begun, this sometimes manifests itself in an acute form. It is true that we have long said that the party must operate by political methods. But the time has come for this to happen in practice, and it appears that many are not ready for the new forms and methods of work. A great deal of work has to be done in this respect.

The forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, V.A. Medvedev said, plans to develop new approaches to resolving interethnic problems—a new national party policy, if you like. It is not simply a question of restoring the Leninist interpretation of this issue and freeing our conceptions of the distortions and deformations of the subsequent period but of considering those realities which have fundamentally changed over the decades that have elapsed since Lenin's time and considering the entire experience of our development.

Answering questions about republic economic accountability raised by the participants in the meeting, V.A. Medvedev stressed that he is a long-standing, consistent supporter of this idea. The fact that the republic's revenue must depend on the results of its economic activity is not in any doubt. Specific proposals on this issue which have been drafted in the republic reflect a number of interesting, useful ideas. But certain aspects need to be discussed. This applies, for example, to the correlation between republic economic accountability and primary link economic accountability—at the level of the enterprise and the association. The latter is the basis of the whole economic mechanism and excessive emphasis on economic accountability at republic level is fraught with the danger of reproducing administrative-edict methods.

Touching on the questions of language and electoral law, V.A. Medvedev said that a well considered, strictly legislative approach must be ensured in this respect and maximum consideration given to the interests of all strata of the population. The problem of combining the rights of the indigenous nation and the civil rights of each individual is the central one here, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed. The civil rights which we closely associate with human rights in the broader, international interpretation. I am confident that their combination can be found, although this is a difficult question, particularly when it is translated into practical decisions and actions.

Supporting the pointed way in which participants in the meeting raised the question of the Estonian Communist Party working in the new conditions, V.A. Medvedev agreed with the opinion that it needs a serious, practical program of action which takes account of ethnic-regional features and the real state of affairs. From this kind of standpoint it would be possible to conduct active, assertive work which accords with the spirit of restructuring, the CPSU's contemporary national policy, and the interests of strengthening socialism. Life raises the question of considerably enhancing the independence and activeness of the republic's Communist Party in the implementation of cadre policy, organizational activity, and political influence on Communists to ensure that they pursue the party line in the mass media and in unsponsored organizations and movements. The CPSU Statute and Program cannot be an obstacle to this, although even they need to be improved, of course.

The leitmotif of the meetings of the last few days, V.A. Medvedev stressed, has been the development of constructive dialogue and the consolidation of forces really working for restructuring. We must rid ourselves of mutual mistrust, unjustified accusations, and labelling, prevent any steps leading to division on ethnic grounds, and, quite the reverse, work to make the atmosphere healthier. Naturally, particular responsibility for this rests with the Estonian Communist Party. There is only one way to resolve the problems of interethnic relations in the republic and in the country as a whole, V.A. Medvedev concluded, and that is dialogue, which opens up the possibility for constructive progress.

Estonian Deputy Comments on Residency Issue
LD2307225289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows man being interviewed on a street; caption reads "Tallinn, 21 July 1989,"] [Unidentified man] The demands expressed on 14 March have not been met, and furthermore, the republic's government is now issuing still more unconstitutional laws that completely encroach on the rights of our Russian-speaking population.

[Correspondent Vladislav Flyarkovskiy, identified by caption that reads "23 July 1989"] That was a clip from an old report from Estonia. It graphically indicates that the current mood of various groups of people in the republic is in many ways determined by progress in the discussion of the draft bill on elections to the local soviets of people's deputies, and especially by the forthcoming examination of this bill at the next session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. In fact, the session will begin tomorrow, on 24 July.

The main target for the criticism has been Part 1, Article 2 of the law. It envisions the introduction of the principle of long-established settlement [osedlost] for candidate-deputies. This would require 5-years' residency in the territory of the relevant Soviet and a total of 15 years residency in the territory of the republic.

We have asked (Rajvo Vare), deputy chief of a department at the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, who is also one of the authors of this draft bill, to explain it.

[(Vare)] The centralized system of administration, where things start at the top and work down and which has existed hitherto, must be replaced by a new system where things start at the bottom and work up. That is the main task.

Naturally, that demanded the formation of such bodies, representative bodies of self-government. That means primarily safeguarding the level of competence both of the voter and of the elected person. That is naturally connected first and foremost with the integration of both the voter and the elected person in local life; he is supposed to resolve issues arising from this integration. Hence, there is a certain requirement for a residency period in the area in question. That is the first question.

The second question concerns providing the most broad democratic basis possible for nominating all candidates.

The third question concerns safeguarding opportunities for conducting a democratic election campaign. I mean primarily the campaigning side of things.

The fourth question concerns a procedure, which is really a little more complex. It is the procedure for counting the votes to ensure true representation for all basic social groups and for their interests in the soviet in question.

We have taken world experience into consideration. It shows that true local government must be linked with the local population and only with the local population. That raised the question of the need to restrict the range of voters and elected people to those with definite links to the territory in question.

Perhaps this issue has evoked a strong negative reaction among a certain section of the population, primarily Russian speakers. Furthermore, as the polls by our sociologists show, this applies to sections of the population primarily concentrated in Tallinn who have arrived very recently, because they do not fall within this circle, to a certain degree, since, so to speak, their links with this region are completely fresh. That is the root of these problems and this criticism.

Riga Rally Sees Latvia at 'Crisis Point'
PM2407093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by unnamed own correspondent: "Riga Rally"]

[Text] A rally, organized by the International Front of Working People of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, was held 20 July on Komsomolskaya Embankment in Riga. The rally, in which 8,000 people participated, went on for 1 and ½ hours in torrential rain. The rally slogan was "For Soviet Latvia, for the unity of the USSR." A resolution was adopted, saying that the "situation in the republic has reached crisis point and future developments cannot be predicted."

The burden of many of the speeches at the rally was that of guaranteeing equal rights for all the peoples of the USSR and ensuring that all the country's citizens, wherever they live and whatever their nationality, are protected by the law. The rally participants demanded an end to propaganda of ethnic enmity and other unconstitutional actions, whatever their origin.

Kiev Party Committee First Secretary Replaced
LD2207134589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] A plenum of the city committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party was held in Kiev today. It considered an organizational matter. The plenum released Comrade Masik from his duties as first secretary of the city party committee at his request and in connection with his transfer to other work. Comrade Korniyenko, who worked previously as deputy head of the Party Construction and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected first secretary of Kiev city party committee. The plenum was addressed by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Azerbaijan Presidium Says U.S. Vote 'Interference'
NC2207171289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Statement by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The U.S. Congress has adopted a resolution on the (?situation) in Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. It is only possible to assess the resolution as a [words indistinct] and interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium makes it known that [words indistinct]. The interethnic relations in the USSR [words indistinct]. It is not the duty of the U.S. Congress to (?sow discord) in relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet believes that the (?disgusting) approach by the U.S. Congress is only aimed at [words indistinct] and obstructing the way the problem concerning NKAO should be resolved. In view of this, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in voicing its objection, also demands that such activities by the U.S. state organs be halted.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instructed the USSR Embassy in Washington to convey the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution to the U.S. Congress.

Arutyunyan Discusses Central Committee Meeting
LD2207104889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jul 89

[From the "Soyuz" program, presented by Commentator Galina Vinogradova]

[Text] [Vinogradova] Now, comrades, I propose that you listen to the opinion of one of the participants in the Central Committee meeting: Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The recording was made in the Kremlin by Correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy.

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] If today we speak about the revolutionary renewal of society, about restructuring, then the party itself should set an example. The restructuring processes must take place more intensively within the party itself. Incidentally, it was noted at the meeting that restructuring in the party itself is happening too slowly, but if the party is the political vanguard of the Soviet people, it must set an example in restructuring, in the renewal of forms and methods of work, in strengthening its political influence over the masses. Unfortunately, we sometimes are too slow. Sometimes the initiative is taken away from us. I can give examples of this in Armenia and other regions. Therefore, it is most important to win the trust of people every day. The time has passed when we decided all the issues in our society and in each individual region by command and administer methods. Today, the party can win prestige only by its actions, by its work, by achieving those things that concern people.

When one speaks of restructuring and of the role and place of the party in this entire cause, one must also say something about our party cadres. After all, it is no secret that many cadres passed through their formative years in those times when command and administer methods of work existed in our country. It is a fairly difficult and complex process for party cadres to adjust to the new situation and to work in a new way under new conditions. I will say frankly that today we are experiencing a great shortage of cadres who are ready in both the theoretical and political senses, cadres who today are capable of upholding the party position in a demonstrative way and of leading the masses.

One topical matter is how one should build relations with informal organizations. It is no secret that the informal organizations are intensifying their influence over public and political life in a number of regions of the country, and here we must, of course, define how we are to build relations with informal organizations. We believe, and we in our republic are conducting a policy that states that we must arrange close interaction with those informal organizations that are speaking from a restructuring position and want to take an interested part in resolving economic, social, and other issues. I would even say that the informal organizations that advocate renewal and speak from positions supporting socialist reforms somehow must be integrated into our structure in order to use their prestige and influence in resolving all pressing issues.

Of course, this meeting gave us a great deal. It has forced us once again to rethink the way we work and to what extent the forms and methods of maintaining party organizations' activity are suitable and adequate under the circumstances and in the situation that has come about.

As you know, the issue of already beginning preparations for the next party congress was raised at the meeting. Incidentally, opinions differed. Some participants in the meeting advocated holding the next party congress in the

autumn of next year, but others said that there is no need to hurry, but that we must rather prepare for the congress thoroughly and hold it in 1991. My opinion is that, of course, we must not drag our feet about holding the congress. We are going through extremely energetic and dynamic times. A sufficient number of problems has accumulated and these issues need to be examined at the congress level.

Other matters were raised concerning the expediency of concurrently holding posts in the party and in local soviets, but I think that it was stated correctly in the report that this matter should be decided in every specific instance and depending on the circumstances and situation in a given region. My opinion, for example, is that there is no need to combine posts in the party and soviets at the local level, but that is only my view. It may not coincide with the views of many others. That, in brief, is what I wanted to tell you. [end recording]

Tajik Supreme Soviet Session Results Reported

Curfew Imposed on Leninabad

LD2207180289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] A session of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet ended in Dushanbe today. After a broad discussion the deputies adopted a law of the Tajik SSR on language. This legal document gives official status to the Tajik language. Russian as the language of contact between nationalities in the USSR functions freely in the republic's territory. The new law also enshrines the legal right of citizens of all nationalities living in Tajikistan to use and develop their native languages and cultures. The development of the laws prevalent in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast has been placed under the protection of the law.

A report was heard from deputy Khayeyev, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, on progress in implementing the electorate's mandates and deputies' proposals and complaints. Alterations were made to the relevant articles of the Tajik SSR's constitution in connection with the adoption of the law on language and with regard to a decree by the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the introduction of a curfew within the village soviets of Varukh, Charku, and Surkh in Leninabad Oblast.

The session was addressed by Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Law Adopted on Tajik Language

LD2207161189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0924 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 22 Jul (TASS)— The Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan (a republic in Central Asia) today adopted a law on the state status of the Tajik language. This legislative act takes account of the interests of all ethnic groups inhabiting Tajikistan.

The draft law was published 3 months ago for broad discussion. In the conditions of pluralism all citizens were given an opportunity to have their say on various articles of the bill. In Tajikistan the non-native population comprises 40 percent of the total number of inhabitants. Quite naturally they were concerned that granting the Tajik language the status of state language should not lead to discrimination against other languages, including Russian. Discussion was particularly acute around an article in the bill on teaching higher education students, primarily in Tajik. As a result of the discussion the authors of the bill gave up that idea.

The language law was passed by a majority vote of parliamentarians. In the opinion of Gaybnazar Pallayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Tajikistan, who presented this bill to parliament, this document will enhance the role of the Tajik language in the political, economic, and cultural life of the republic, and will become an important factor in strengthening the national self-awareness of the Tajik people. At the same time, the law stipulates the inalienable right of a citizen of any nationality living in the republic to use and develop his own language and culture, Gajbnazar Pallayev said. The Russian language has been given the legal status of the language of interethnic communication. It will be used for business contacts with other Soviet republics and all-union institutions.

In places where Uzbeks, Kirgiz, and Turkmens live in compact groups, they are ensured the right to freely teach and use their own languages.

Leninabad Leaders Said Ignoring Press Criticism

18001313 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by V. Kozhemyako and O. Latifi: "Newspaper Comes Out With Criticism: Notes From Meeting of CPSU Central Committee Party Control Comittee"]

[Text] **It seems that you will not amaze anyone with anything new in our society today. Restructuring is introducing more and more changes in people's relationships, and it is sharply broadening glasnost and democracy in society, which was clearly confirmed by the Congress of People's Deputies. But the party is restructuring itself very slowly. Therefore, any innovation associated with the sphere of party work is of special interest.**

This time we were attracted by a not entirely common question which the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee was working on. It was drawn up here in this way: "Concerning the facts of the incorrect attitude of individual communist-managers of the Leninabad Oblast of Tajikistan toward critical press articles." The press and publication is something on the order of a prerogative of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee. An old acquaintance of ours, who has worked in the KPK [Party Control Committee]

for almost 20 years, admitted frankly: I do not recall, he said, that we ever looked into something like this before. And now they have started. Why?

We directed this question to Boris Karlovich Pugo, committee chairman. And this is what we heard in response:

"In recent years, the KPK took a keen interest in the examination of economic questions. They, of course, are important. But, because of them, can the problems of the health of the party itself and the state and restructuring of the internal party ideological work be overlooked under conditions of delimitation of functions? Moreover, it is our duty to monitor how regulations on the responsibilities of communists to develop criticism and self-criticism are being fulfilled. We decided—indeed the Central Committee orients us in this direction—to shift to specific emphasis in our work.

Thus, Tajikistan and Leninabad Oblast. Reaction to criticism in the press. A little should be said about how the study of this question was organized. More than 30 persons were involved in the preparation—party workers and journalists, including jounalists from PRAVDA. Verification encompassed all oblast, rayon, and large-circulation newspapers, all gorkoms [city party committee] and raykoms [rayon party committee], and about 70 primary party organizations.

In a word, when V. Afonin, the chief controller and head of the preparatory work, spoke from the rostrum at a KPK meeting, he had very extensive material at his disposal.

Indeed, oblast newspapers changed somewhat recently. Yes, the areas of criticism are broadening. It can also be acknowledged that on the whole criticism is becoming more competent and to the point. However, speaking of restructuring in the press, local residents frankly admit, nonetheless, that they see it more often in the central press, but here in the oblast, in their opinion, it is not yet quite right. And is this not the reason for the loss in subscribers? This year 10 out of 14 newspapers have reduced their circulation.

We shall be objective (and that is the way the meeting went): The reasons are diverse. Of course, not all Leninabad journalists compare with Moscow journalists in level of training. And their conditions of work are more complicated, and their polygraphic base is much worse. But, taking all of this into account, it is impossible not to admit that one of the main reasons is how the local party committees want to view their press. Bold, powerful, sharp—or timid, overcautious, and toothless?

But, of course, no party leader will come right out and say that he is for a bad newspaper. Everyone is for a good one! But an understanding of what is good can have different meanings. So, V. Rakhimova, secretary of the Leninabad obkom, speaking at a KPK meeting said what seems to be correct. She noted the real shortcomings in the life of the oblast, and she posed acute socio-economic and ideological problems that required critical analysis by the press. But then why, it is asked, is this analysis disappearing more and more from the pages of the local press? Why is criticism more and more frequently ineffective and even unanswered? We will cite only individual cases—of those that the KPK monitoring group uncovered. For the last 2 years, the pages of the republic GAZETAK MUALLIMON (Teachers Newspaper) carried about 70 critical articles on Leninabad Oblast. And so what then? The editorial office did not get an answer to an overwhelming majority of them. The managers of the oblzdravotdel [oblast health department] and the administrations of communications, internal affairs, and certain other services of oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], are conducting themselves in the same way with respect to the mass media. More than 350 communist managers did not reply at all recently to criticism of rayon newspapers alone.

"And not one of them was reprimanded in party procedures," I. Ivanov, a committee member, commented. "Basically, the party control commission at the obkom and the local party commissions have avoided these questions."

The "silent ones"...It can be said that this is the extreme form of disregard of the press. You, they say, write and we will read. But there is also another practice, a more clever one: an answer that is hogwash or simply pro forma. We at PRAVDA also encounter this. You read an official report—it seems there is something to it, but you dig into it, and it is nothing, there is nothing to print.

Those who give misleading answers clearly count on the fact that no one will check up on them. In Zafarobodskiy Rayon the newspaper ZARBDOR published an article on gross violations of the norms of Soviet trade. Director of public catering Dzhurayev reported that the main culprit was reprimanded. But on checking up? It turned out that he had not even heard about it. When the people's controllers again "pressed" him, he quickly left "at his own request." But the director of the editorial office said that he was removed from his position.

Or, another example. In response to an article in the journal AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA about formalism in ideological work, A. Dodokhonov, secretary of the Isfarinskiy gorkom of the party, replied that it was discussed in party organizations, but that the gorkom coordinating soviet worked up instructions on competitive reviews for the best displays of visual aids propaganda. Everything would be all right, but it seems that the secretaries of party organizations, who were criticized, did not consider it, and they did not hear anything about the review. Putting it mildly, the answer and reality did not coincide.

Of course, criticism doe not make anyone happy. However, it must be reacted to soberly and in a principled way, taking measures to improve the situation. In Leninabad Oblast, as was noted at a KPK meeting, it often happens differently: the sickness of ambition takes over.

The newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA should have criticized the Leninabad affiliate of the institute "Tajikkolkhozproyekt" [Tajik kolkhoz project] for the delay in planning a rural school when its director I. Umarov announced to representatives of the kolkhoz [collective farm] that now he would not concern himself with the project at all. The Pendzhikent newspaper ZARAFSHON should have raised the question about the illegal discharge of the chief doctor of the psychoneurological dispensary, Z. Odinayev, when persecution of him became even stronger. He was restored to work just 9 months later, and this is only owing to the intervention of higher offices. But B. Kurbanov, who committed the arbitrariness, has still not been made answerable to the party.

It is understandable that it is difficult for a journalist, who takes on critical themes, to work under such conditions. He is seen as an undesired "disturber of tranquility," although the rotten tranquility is what we got from the times of stagnation, and it should be quickly shattered by the force of glasnost. And what is most insulting of all is that critical journalists are sometimes seen in an unfavorable light not only by some of the residents but also by party heads of oblast organs who literally fight for glasnost in words. Alas, the words frequently are not matched by deeds.

Otherwise, there can be no other explanation for the fact that A. Abdusaminov, first secretary of the Proletarskiy Raykom of the party, after the appearance in LENINABADSKAYA PRAVDA of critical articles by our correspondent A. Khabibov, tried to get the editorial office to prohibit him in the future from preparing critical writings, which he also declared to the party aktiv. The matter got to the point that Khabibov was deprived of the opportunity to be present at the rayon party conference and to write a report about it.

But S. Tursunov, secretary of the Nausnyy raykom, in the presence of M. Mirzaboyev, chairman of the "Ukraina" kolkhoz, who "suffered" criticism from the newspaper KOMMUNIZM SARI, demanded that correspondent Kh. Forsoyev retract the article. The author of the article was able to defend himself only with the helf of the Union of Journalists of the republic and the newspaper SOVET TOZHIKISTONI.

All of these and similar facts are not simply a sad coincidence; they are tied to the imperfection of the party management of the oblast press. This is the conclusion that the participants of the monitoring came to. This was also talked about in discussions by S. Manyakin, first deputy chairman of the committee; D. Slezko, deputy chairman, and N. Perun, executive secretary of the KPK.

Nowadays you can hear the idea about removing the mass media from under the influence of the party. But is this the way to improve its work? No, analysis indicates that the answer lies elsewhere: in the perfection of party management and in the replacement of the administrative-command methods with political methods.

Unfortunately, this process is proceeding very slowly in Leninabad Oblast. The old stock phrases and stereotypes that have become firmly implanted make themselves felt at every turn. How do many party workers see their role in the management of the press here? To catch any kind of a mistake or inaccuracy in a column of print and to scold the editorial workers for this. Because errors in a newspaper are not allowed, and they cannot be left unattended and without the necessary evaluation. But to reduce all party management to this is also not correct.

There is also the method that can be called "hold and do not release." This is an effort to impede the publication of critical materials, the demands of some party workers to review them, and to pass on almost every critical article. Thus, a procedure was in effect until recently where critical correspondence and remarks readied for the newspaper BAYRAKI OKTYABR were first viewed in the Gonchinskiy party raykom. As a result, naturally, the timeliness and criticality of problems that are raised are lost. But the telephone rule is also at work. The editorial office barely gets a criticle article ready when telephone calls are made by patrons of party and soviet organs with requests, and even with threats, not to publish.

To break unsuitable but habitual methods is not easy. Here, of course, much depends on the party obkom. But also, as it was learned during discussions, it is not overcoming the force of inertia very effectively. The following example is characteristic. The ideological department of the obkom prepared for buro review the question "On Increasing the Role of the Oblast Newspaper LENINABADSKAYA PRAVDA" in expanding glasnost in the activity of oblast party organizations in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There is no doubt it is an important question. But it is only that it was prepared in an absolutely formal way. L. Kamoliddinov, manager of an obkom sector, did everything alone. It was not checked by members of the party obkom, the secretaries of the party of the party gorkom and raykom, or by journalists. It is not surprising that the material submitted to the buro of the obkom abounded in stock phrases and general appeals. But there was no in-depth analysis of the articles and clear recommendations for improving the work of the newspaper.

Meanwhile, it is precisely this that editorial offices need more than anything else from party committees. There is a need for the professional support of correspondence on matters of principle, assistance in the training of journalists, an improvement in their ability to inform, and regular articles by party workers themselves.

"The work of the party organizations and the press is common to both," noted B. Pugo during discussions. "The appeals to develop democracy and glasnost without the support of the mass media will remain an empty phrase. That is why contiuous interaction and a clear system of relationships are so important."

However, as the facts indicate, the party committees and editorial offices in Leninabad Oblast frequently work at cross purposes. There is little use to be gained from formal review of thematic plans, and trivial oversight and unqualified interference in the editorial process only impede matters. As previously, efforts to keep information secret that is of particular interest and arouses people have been observed. For example, recently more than 40 persons who are on the staff of the obkom were relieved of their posts as being unable to cope with their work and who compromised themselves. But you will not find an analysis of the specific reasons on the pages of local newspapers. There are more than enough rumors, conjectures, and gossip.

There are some among party workers who are inclined to place the main blame for shortcomings in the restructuring process on the press. It is in this spirit that V. Ryazanov, first secretary of the Leninabad party gorkom, spoke at an oblast party conference. He spoke without adducing any proof and without a single specific example. He was told very logically in reply that he systematically avoids meeting with journalists. Is this the way the manager of the party committee should conduct relations with the press?

We have already said that Leninabad Oblast has a pile of problems. For example, the situation with respect to the use of labor resources is worsening, and a quarter of the able-bodied population is not employed now in the national economy. Contractual obligations on the sale of agricultural products to the state are being broken. There are many deficiencies in the work of the municipal economy, trade, public eating facilities, motor vehicle transport, and domestic services. It is impossible to correct and arrange all of this without the press. But the effectiveness of its criticism must be different—far greater. All of the participants in the discussions of the Party Control Committee came to this conclusion.

The party leadership of the oblast has been given the time to strengthen the effectiveness of criticism in the press. A KPK report is due in January of next year. And there is a lot of work ahead....

Militia Disperses Youth 'Brawl' in Tajikistan

LD2107181889 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Dushanbe July 21 TASS—A hoodlum incident came to nought last night thanks to decisive action by authorities and militia in the city of Kanibadam in the Leninabad region of Tajikistan, Soviet Central Asia.

It was provoked by a brawl between two youths of different nationalities, which escalated into a clash involving groups armed with chains, sticks and rocks.

Soberly assessing the situation, the city authorities requested help from the militia and interior ministry troop units which promptly arrived on the scene.

The mobsters were asked to disperse. Since they heeded neither reasonable suggestions nor repeated appeals, force was applied to them, as envisaged in such cases by the law, and warning shots were fired into the air. No-one was hospitalised, but 43 people were detained.

The regional public prosecutor's office launched an investigation into the gang hooliganism case that same night.

New Chief Arbiter Urges Economic Regulations

18200410 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 July 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu. N. Matveyev, USSR chief state arbiter, by I. Demchenko: "Chief State Arbiter"—date, place not given]

[Text] Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev, appointed by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the post of the USSR Chief State Arbiter, was born in Kiev in 1940. He graduated from the T. Shevchenko Kiev State University. He comes from a family of lawyers.

He began his career in the position of state arbiter with the Kiev Oblast State Arbitration Office. Between 1967 and 1973, he was on the staff of the UNESCO secretariat in Paris. He defended his Ph.D. thesis on the topic "International Copyright Protection." For several years, he headed a chair at the Department of Law of the University of Kiev, and was elected dean of the Department of Law. Between 1987 and 1989, he was the chief state arbiter of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

[Demchenko] Yuriy Gennadiyevich, you are taking over a complex establishment on which the course of the entire economic reform depends to a large degree. As you see it, what are the main shortcomings of the current system of economic court procedures?

[Matveyev] First of all, the absence of a solid legal base. If there is no legal base, the situation is unmanageable.

Here is another important point. Every law needs "infrastructure." Its absence is a shortcoming in regulating economic activities. Even the largely declarative, contradictory Law on State Enterprises could have initially more or less guaranteed their rights had it been endowed with the corresponding "infrastructure," which would have made it possible to implement the concepts embedded in the law.

Let me give an example of this idea. As is known, the Law on State Enterprises gave the enterprise the right to demand indemnification for losses it has suffered as a result of complying with the instructions of a superior organ (for example, a ministry).

The USSR Council of Ministers set the task of preparing and adopting corresponding guidelines for calculating such damages and establishing sources of financing for making up for them no later than the fourth quarter of 1988. This was not done. It comes as no surprise that at present there are virtually no such suits seeking indemnification in the practice of the State Arbitration Office. There are many reasons for that, but, as it seems to me, one of the main reasons is found in the failure to comply with the instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers on developing guidelines for determining losses.

[Demchenko] You mean supplements and commentaries to the law. However, is not the obvious overabundance of various regulations, instructions, and orders in our country the cause of trouble?

[Matveyev] You are right. In many cases, executive legal acts become "supralegal." This is inadmissible from the legal point of view. Let us take, say, ministerial restrictions which have appeared following the adoption of the Law on State Enterprises. I mean, say, the right of enterprises to freely sign contracts. The law establishes three causes for signing contracts—state orders, quotas (contingents), and orders from consumers. The first two are mandatory for the supplier enterprise.

As far as the notion "order" by a consumer is concerned, the recently adopted Regulations on the Delivery of Products With Production and Technical Functions expand it considerably, which greatly weakens the right to sign contracts as one sees fit and, incidentally, contravenes article 10 of the Law on Enterprises. Pursuant to this article, control statistics communicated to the enterprise are not directives, and should not restrict the collective in the course of developing the plan.

A similar situation occurs with regard to the deliveries of consumer goods. In this sphere, the rights of suppliers are considerably restricted by the adopted provisional Regulations on State Orders for 1989 and 1990. This is also happening despite the provisions of the Law on Enterprises.

This trend runs counter to the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the legal reform, which is called upon to ensure the primacy of law in all spheres of life of our society.

[Demchenko] How is the situation to be rectified? After all, you as the chief arbiter should comply with the existing laws, regulations, and instructions no matter what you think of them. Is everything going to remain as it has been?

[Matveyev] For this we have the prosecutor's office which carries out general supervision of compliance with the law. I am very heartened by USSR Prosecutor General A. Sukharev saying at his confirmation by a session of the USSR Supreme Council that the prosecutor's office has been concentrating too heavily on criminal law problems, whereas economic, social, and daily-life issues have been left out. The recognition of that is a serious step toward putting things in order.

However, the State Arbitration Office as well should not passively wait for the prosecutor's office to get something going. Unfortunately, thus far the State Arbitration Office has been behaving in this very passive manner. Meanwhile, it is its direct responsibility to raise the issue with the prosecutor's office: look at what is going on, pay attention to this particular problem.

Besides, arbitration must participate more vigorously in developing new normative acts which would be in line with the goals and tasks of the new economic policy. Meanwhile, thus far it has passed in silence over the fact that its remarks have been disregarded. For example, the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] developed regulations on product deliveries, heard out the suggestions of the State Arbitration Office, and immediately forgot about them. This is the usual position of a monopoly establishment. On his part, the chief arbiter swallowed that. This should not happen again.

[Demchenko] What about the so-called "telephone rule of law?" Certainly, influential people—let us refer to them so—call you and ask to put certain lawsuits "on ice?"

[Matveyev] Of course, the "telephone rule of law" is an abomination, and we cannot ignore the fact that it exists. Indeed, both I and my deputies received many calls. However, in the Ukraine we stood our ground.

[Demchenko] In Moscow, you will have many more telephones, and behind every one of them there will be its own "law."

[Matveyev] Certainly, this is a danger, all the more so because I do not have experience working in a senior position of this kind. In the Ukraine, I took part quite frequently in the meetings held by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. Over there, they always listened to what the State Arbitration Office had to say. Let us hope that the relations here will also develop normally.

[Demchenko] What do you believe necessary to do first in your capacity of chief arbiter of the country?

[Matveyev] It seems to me that the main point at present is to invigorate the operations of the State Arbitration Office. This is what depends on us. It is necessary to expand the sphere of operations of the State Arbitration Office if we really want it to become the guarantor of rights of enterprises. The USSR Constitution says that economic disputes are resolved by the State Arbitration

Office within the confines of its jurisdiction. However, intraministerial disputes have been removed from this "jurisdiction," and separate in-house arbitration bodies have been set up. They should rather disappear together with the administrative-command system which has spawned them.

Financial disputes associated with the operation of the Ministry of Finance and the State Bank have also been removed from the jurisdiction of the State Arbitration Office. These are two monopolies who are altogether immune, and who make the life of all enterprises miserable. They remove tremendous sums from the budgets just when they see fit. Actually, neither the Ministry of Finance nor other departments should have a right to actions which inflict losses on enterprises, cooperatives, and organizations. There is no end of examples that can be quoted in this matter. Since it is said that the State Arbitration Office is the guarantor of asset interests of enterprises, it should be endowed with corresponding responsibilities without restrictions. You cannot be a "partial" guarantor.

[Demchenko] Whose resistance are you expecting in the process of affirming the rights of arbitration?

[Matveyev] First of all, that of ministries. I mean ministries as a system because, despite the correct words, including those said at the congress, the apparatus has not surrendered, and has no intention of doing so. All the good intentions of the leadership notwithstanding, things still depend on the working part of the mechanism. Look at that same Gossnab. It believes that everything will fall apart without it, and proves so. It has serious arguments to back this up. The same may be said of the Ministry of Finance, the State Planning Committee, and any other department. Take transportation ministries—they will object to changes in the sphere of legal regulations. I can even foresee that the State Arbitration Office will be accused of the lack of professionalism: Supposedly, the office is not aware of our situation, and has not seen how we toss coal into the fire-box. Incidentally, I indeed do not know that, and do not want to, because it is not my business.

[Demchenko] When are you going to start working?

[Matveyev] I think that I will start in a week. I have to turn things over in Kiev, and move to Moscow. There are problems with that as well.

[Demchenko] What would you like to add to the answers which you gave to the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet during your nomination to the post?

[Matveyev] I do not at all like the way in which I gave answers there. I should have tried to outline my concept of restructuring the work of the State Arbitration Office. I regret very much that I did not refer to the catastrophic material and technical situation of the organs of state arbitration. Reputable people come to us, and we review cases in decrepit offices. Why would there be respect? It is time for us to understand that cheap jurisprudence is as inefficient as cheap health care.

Military-Civilian Goods Conversion Viewed

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[Text] Converting the military sector of the economy to the production of civilian goods has been a subject of heated discussions and a matter of keen public interest in the Soviet Union. More on this from our observer Pavel Kuznetsov:

[Begin Kuznetsov recording] The news that our military industrial complex is going to at least try to fill some of the empty consumer shelves with such goods as refrigerators, high quality television sets, agricultural machinery, and even baby carriages, was greeted as a sure sign that arms control has begun to pay off. But as is the case with any new programs, the path of conversion is not smooth. One of the problems is that arms control cannot be planned ahead. Consequently there can be no advance nationwide planning in conversion. Much of it is played by ear. Secondly, some experts here say that instead of manufacturing consumer goods, something which they (?fear) is a stop-gap measure, former military oriented plants shoud focus on high tech research and development. Their top priority should be computers, software, and other electronics related items. Perambulators are important but they can be manufactured elsewhere. We can hardly afford the luxury of seeing better equipment and better trained personnel involved in a nuts and bolts operation. And finally, our military sector of the economy is not as good as many thought it was. Incidents with our nuclear subs and disclosures in the press about some other deficiencies in military construction have deflated the myth of there being a poor civilian economy and a super advanced military sector. Of course, there is a difference but not to the extent that has been played up by the United States' Defense Department. In my view at this point more than anything else conversion is a symbol of the changing times. It's good to know that disabled tanks are used as towing vehicles. It feels good to read that the navy is selling old vessels as scrap metal while the Air Force provides its huge transport planes to carry civilian cargo. The other day a newspaper observed that the Air Force could set aside enough planes to start an air line that would compete with Aeroflot and thus break up its monopoly. Despite the shortcomings, we are serious about conversion as a welcome offshoot of arms control and disarmament. And once the West in general and the United States in particular realize that we are indeed serious about arms control, conversion is likely to gain in scope. [end recording]

Rural Cultural Void Seen as Growing Problem

Part 1

18001265 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 3

[Part one of article by doctor of philosophy Professor Vadim Churbanov: "Rural Culture: Before the Ascent"]

[Text]

How Did Catullus Profess His Love for Lesbia?

Restructuring is mercilessly revealing one urgent problem after the other. The problems are crowding to such a degree that it makes the heads of some participants in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies spin. Could it be that we should not build fires under every chair, and it would indeed be better to make some progress at least on the most necessary things? As they say, a bird in the hand....

However, both the congress discussion and polling of the populace reveal that the clearance between the ideas of people on "the most urgent" are so miniscule that the issues of foodstuffs and housing, health care and education, ecology and prices, interethnic relations and freedom of speech merge into a single solid problem. This is how the extreme metaphor of Lev Tolstoy—for the water in a vessel to be warm, all drops of it have to be warm—turns out to be a practical formula of restructuring strategy. This formula requires to coordinate everything throughout; otherwise, nothing will get accomplished. So it happens that you cannot set your sights on the bird in the hand; you still have to reach for the two in the bush.

Still, the foodstuffs issue, and thus the issue of rural areas in general, turns out to be among those becoming the highest priority.

No sooner the print got dry on the resolutions of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum when preliminary results of the 1989 all-union population census came up. They soberly reminded us that to a large degree we remain a rural, peasant country. This kind of statistics is shining through the trails of our spaceships.

Indeed, despite the growth of urban population by 90 million persons in the last 30 years, and by 25.2 million in the last 10 years, despite 10.6 million rural dwellers turning into urbanites since 1979, the overall number of rural population fell only by 0.9 million persons. At present, it still accounts for more than one-third of the citizens of the country—almost 98 million. Also, in many regions the share of rural population comes to about one-half of the populace, and in some oblasts of the Kazakh, Uzbek, and Tadjik union republics—up to 87 percent. Therefore, they should not be making jokes about everyone having taken up writing—there are enough of those who do plowing.

The quantitative aspect alone makes the problem of rural areas significant. However, this is not all yet: They annually augment the cities with 1 million urbanites. In total, first and second-generation urbanites in our country perhaps number close to 50 million. Consequently, rural areas affect the quality of cities. Thus, the fate of rural areas becomes the fate of the country.

As is known, the fundamental content of the problem of rural areas includes, initially, overcoming their contradiction with the city, and, subsequently, essential differences from the city. The Marxist theoretical thought determined long ago how this is to be achieved—by combining industry with land cultivation on the basis of purposeful application of science and combination of collective labor.

What about culture?

"The peasant needs urban products, urban culture, and we should provide this for him.... Help the peasant to go up to the urban level..."—this is how Lenin formulated the task in 1919. He formulated it expressing the interests of the peasant himself, but not just of the peasant.

As understood by Lenin, "a civilized cooperative member" is a person capable not only of combining collective labor and applying science to agricultural production, but also a person attuned to becoming a skilled worker, and, with an effort of which any normal person is capable, an intellectual. This is what giving the peasant urban products and urban culture means. However, this also means the technical and intellectual saturation of agrarian work and life, and the development of rural culture, which make rural areas capable of attracting an urbanite for living on the land.

All of this has become reality in many developed countries, despite nobody desiring to achieve this goal as passionately and making such giant strides toward it as we did. However, this did not last long.

By now, a lot has already been said about the drama of rural areas in our country. However, apparently, it has not been ultimately understood that this drama did not boil down only to the distortion of ownership relations, and in general only to the political and economic spheres.

"In 10 years, the share of the intelligentsia will be equal to zero. The difference between intellectual and manual labor will begin disappearing. A new, sturdy generation of workers will master technology and master science. Maybe, it will not know that well how Catullus professed his love for perfidious Lesbia; however, it will know well how to combat nature, and how to build human life." This is what Karl Radek, one of the most impatient theoreticians of socialist transformations in our country, wrote. In the 1920's and 1930's, many theoreticians and practitioners, even the most intellectual among them, leaned toward this kind of leftist radicalism.

In the revolutionary, leftist utopia designs, not only the intelligentsia, "the upper stratum," was to disappear within a decade. In the soon-to-come future, no space was provided for the peasantry, "the lower stratum," as well.

By the time Karl Radek fell victim of the "great turnaround," the share of intelligentsia was indeed headed toward zero, but in a totally different manner. The fate of the peasantry also took a tragic turn: It was not a "civilized cooperative member" but a landless, poor semi-peasant and semi-proletarian, deprived of his rights, who heard through the stupor that he was "the

most advanced agrarian toiler in the world" and that he was living under socialism. Meanwhile, by that time millions of peasants were still illiterate, and only 1.8 percent had seven grades or more of school education—to say nothing of Catullus and Lesbia! However, overcoming essential differences between urban and rural areas was reclassified from a fundamental to a "current" task, in which compartment it has remained until now.

There is no dearth of explanations for the past and current striking differences between the urban and rural areas. However, it is dangerous to also underestimate the reason such as the decay of culture in rural areas: The traditions of folk culture retained by the peasants were destroyed, and the rural areas got precious little urban culture. The traditional culture was purposefully put to death, whereas the new one, socialist and integrating, came in a truncated version. Cultural transformations turned out to be broad but meager; this is why the past went away, but the future did not come.

This affected the fate of not only the rural, but also urban areas. The process of depeasantization in rural areas, which flooded the cities with masses of migrants mastering merely the elementary notions of urban culture, has brought and is still bringing about a peculiar peasantization of urban areas. In turn, the saturation of rural areas with only with elementary patterns of urban culture has brought, and is still bringing about their odd semi-urbanization. A new type of culture has appeared, which in foreign sociology they call marginal—a mixed, "borderland" culture, that is, one consisting of "marginal" values of different cultures, in this case, the peasant and urban ones.

Is the Notion of "Backwardness" Obsolete?

Genuine Marxism has never promised the averaged equality which is at present so generously promised by some overzealous columnists and people's deputies who want too much to be liked by the public. Seriously speaking, social justice means just inequality. This is inequality, because natural differences between the talents and "force of character" of people amount to the ratio of 1:3, as some scientists maintain. Naturally, at any degree of equality in social opportunity for all, those more gifted and strong-willed achieve more. This is just because, for example, a certain differential in living conditions will always exist between regions and even areas, which may be reduced to a minimum but will never be successfully eliminated altogether.

There is no getting away from the obvious fact that the cultural life of present-day rural areas lags behind the city. However, "lag" is a coquettish word with regard to a tremendous share of our villages, because, if we take a strict reading, their real cultural level is expressed by another notion, **backwardness**. This level is one of the most striking social injustices of our society. I would place in the same class with, perhaps, only the financial poverty of old people, high mortality of infants and mothers in childbirth, and the shameful remuneration of employees of cultural facilities—museum employees, librarians, actors, musicians, and so forth.

It is somehow sinister to topple the rural areas from the heights of developed socialism into the abyss of backwardness. However, vices covered up by holiness are the worst vices. "Sacred" dogmas, like the one saying that our rural areas are the most advanced in the world, because they are the most socialist, and the culture of these rural areas is the best, because it, culture, that is, is the most ideological, developed in us a bias against simple, common truths. As a result, we agree to consider good the things which make the life of people hard.

Our beginnings were without precedent. "...Nowhere else are the popular masses as interested in genuine culture as they are in our country; nowhere are the issues of this culture raised so profoundly and so persistently as in our country," wrote V.I. Lenin in "Sheets from the Diary."

However, soon the cultural development of masses became dangerous. To be sure, under Stalin there were inter-kolkhoz [collective farm] theaters, and under Khrushchev people's universities were opened in rural areas and schools of music for children began to be set up. We should not fail to be grateful for the selfless work of rural educators in the 1930's through 1970's. Still, in terms of social results, all of these were "fireworks," ignited first by the conclusion that life has become better and merrier, and later, that communism was right around the corner.

At present, rigorously calculated programs and strict statistics are in order rather than blinding enthusiasm and and bright examples.

To be sure, as was noted at the Congress of People's Deputies, our social statistics are not reliable, at any rate with regard to culture. If we were to use the expression by an English writer, they are being used as a lamppost by a drunk: in order to stay on his feet rather than for lighting. Just take official handbooks—there are many numbers there, but it is not clear in the least what the cultural standard of the people is, to what degree their spiritual needs are being met, and what trends are emerging in the cultural participation by Soviet people.... Besides, most of these statistics are not at all state data, but a figment of the imagination of culture departments and offices. It looks like our Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] is the most trusting department in our country. The results of auditing the records of clubs, libraries, and other establishments by the USSR Committee of People's Control confirm this. What the Goskomstat believes is actually often inflated due to padding by a factor of 3 to 6, or even 10.

However, a statistical comparison of the culture of urban and rural areas is quite proper, because in the cities the custom of padding is just as rampant as this flaw in rural areas, or, putting it in simpler terms, because everyone

lies more or less the same. Also, thank God, the commonly available statistics may now be complemented by some data which were previously "for official use only," as well as the data of sociology.

A simultaneous survey showed that by the beginning of 1988 42 percent of rural settlements in our country had absolutely no cultural establishments—no library, no club, no movie projection equipment, not even "the mobile forms of cultural services" such as a projection van, a mobile club, and so forth.

Fifty-eight percent of rural settlements in our country, in which one-fifth of the rural population resides, are now completely deprived of movie projection services.

About 15 million inhabitants of rural areas still cannot receive TV, and still more people in rural areas are doomed to have so-called "unstable reception" of TV broadcasts. One in four can receive only one channel.

One school in five in rural areas works in two or three shifts, but their average construction per year has dropped by almost one-quarter compared to the years 1976 through 1980, with the urban share of commissioned student slots growing, and the rural share dropping.

Several years ago, a survey of the populace in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] revealed that kolkhoz members of the Russian Federation attended theaters in the course of 1 year 7 times less, and museums 11 times less frequently than urban clerical employees, and, correspondingly, 3 and 4.5 times less frequently than urban workers.

The condition of the structures and technical facilities of rural cultural establishments has become the talk of the town. In a majority of villages, it is simply squalid, and [the facilities] frequently appear in the records rather than actually exist. Even rural rayon seats are by and large poor.

Why does all of that happen? A simple explanation is provided: Because in the time of stagnation due attention was not paid to culture in general, and that of rural areas in particular. But why wasn't it paid? The root of evil has been unearthed: Because "the human factor" was not properly appreciated. At present, we are doing nothing else but appreciating this very "factor." All the more so because a package of directives to that effect was issued after April 1985.

In this instance, a play comes to mind in which it is said: "The government declared war, but nobody came to it." The point is that in the environment of unprecedented, rapid enrichment of our spiritual life in the years of restructuring and an obvious pick-up in culture, some significant indicators of operation of cultural establishments, especially in rural areas, are deteriorating rather than improving. Is it not happening that a crocodile is creeping up on us as we rejoice over the fish we've caught? The times are gone about which poet Boris Slutskiy wrote: "Even if it is economic nonsense, books are sold dirt cheap, cheaper than tobacco and bread." At present, "economic accountability Soviet style" drives up the prices for books in an insanely unceremonious manner. This hits the hardest the already poor rural libraries, because their budgets for acquiring new books usually remain the same.

Apparently, someone believes that restructuring is lacking holidays and merriment; this is why the second All-Union Festival of People's Creativity was held, and, for some reason, the third one is now in the works without a stop. However, amateur arts activities, in the rural areas at any rate, are going through a difficult time if not collapsing: The number of collectives, their members, amateur concerts, and the viewers attending have been dropping year after year.

One movie projection in rural areas results in gross proceeds of R3 on the average; due to this, the rural cinema network operates at a loss. In the first cinema fairs held, the price of a print of a new movie comes up to R30,000. This means that one movie projection in rural areas should generate over R100. The developers of new models for organizing movie releases in our country see a way out in a switch to video equipment in rural areas, which is not coming any time soon, and until this happens, in increasing subsidies. However, they have to grow by a factor of 33.3—is this realistic? Or should we raise prices for movie tickets by the same factor?

Since 1985, 49 new theaters have been created in our country; this means an increment in their number by 8 percent. This is the first such addition in many decades. However, between 1985 and 1988 the number of viewer visits to the theaters of our country fell 10.5 million short, and this happened primarily due to.... You guessed it, at the expense of rural areas, specifically, due to an abrupt reduction in guest and field performances for the inhabitants of rural areas. In 1985, the number of viewers at such performances amounted to 22.5 million, and in 1988—as little as 14.4 million, or 8.1 million fewer. In other words, almost one rural viewer in three missed his performances.

I am in favor of looking for new economic arrangements in theater operation, and of creating new models which are under discussion in concert organizations, in cinema, and in museums. But what is going to happen to rural areas?

Part 2

18001278 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Jun 89 p 6

[Second and final part of article by Doctor of Philosophy Professor Vadim Churbanov: "Rural Culture: Before the Ascent"]

[Text] The trigger effect is known: the effort needed to pull it is small, but the result is enormous. New economic mechanisms in the sphere of culture appear to be a small

thing in a stream of changes generated by restructuring. However, I believe that the ruinous social effect of these mechanisms is assuming the scale of almost a cultural disaster. Something has not been completely thought through, since it is becoming "unprofitable" for theaters, philharmonic orchestras, movie studios and museums to service rural areas.

It also appears that rural areas have become "unprofitable" for the trade sector as well. The inhabitants of rural areas, who now account for 34 percent of the populace of our country, claim only 19 percent of various merchandise turnover. In quite a few union republics, the difference in per capita sales of non-food items between the urban and rural areas reaches the factor of 4. This, after all, includes books, TV sets, record players, tape recorders, musical instruments, and records.

There also are cases of equality of rural and urban dwellers. It is known that a quite substantial surcharge to the prices of TV sets exists. This surcharge is in lieu of payments for the receipt of TV programs. However, a Muscovite now receiving five channels pays the same amount in a shop for his TV set as a rural citizen who is able to pull in one, or at best two channels.

There are many examples of this kind of "equality." Essentially, this amounts to legalized cheating of the citizens of rural areas. Apparently, most often it is due to economic cynicism. However, it may also be that the lack of understanding by society of the actual situation in rural areas in general and of its culture in particular is manifested, the lack of perception that culture is a social characteristic of the populace, because the higher the level of it, the less alcoholism, theft, cruelty, lies, and work on the principle "any which way" there is. Without grasping all of this, we will neglect to perceive that the cultural backwardness of rural areas is "the fifth column" of restructuring. Is this too blunt? However, a smooth word is usually accompanied by halfhearted practical deeds. We have already had an abundance of these. A steep ascent of rural culture to the level of restructuring is what is necessary at present.

"Rally Around Themselves"

In M. Shveytser's movie "Time, Go Ahead!" there is the following episode: A young husband is taking his wife to a maternity ward, and saying all along: "Do not cry! Maybe, it will go away."

A lot of measures aimed at the cultural development of rural areas are being carried out in our country—resolutions, conferences, socialist competition, and all kinds of reorganizations. However, it is not "going away."

Of course, there is a shortage of funds. It is planned to build 511 rayon houses of culture and 5,600 rural clubs—twice as many as in the past 5-year plan. To be sure, the builders are handling the plan with some slippage—in 1988, it was only one-half fulfilled in seven union republics, and in one republic, less than one-quarter. However, even if the construction aspect improves, even if in the next 5-year plan the volume of construction doubles yet again, how many 5-year plans will it take for every rural locality to receive what it is due? Elementary calculations take us to the remote part of the next century. The program of social development in rural areas adopted by the government does not reduce this time span. Why?

Let us assume that it has been built after all. So what? Inspections show that rural cultural facilities are often half empty, and frequently even more than "half" empty: They are 30 to 40 percent utilized, and they are closed down on Saturdays and Sundays.

In this reference, they upbraid the cultural organs: They poorly control rural employees of culture and education, and put little pressure on them. But why do not the latter want to work on their own? And why does the populace put up with the empty clubs and meager libraries?

The reason is that here the culture and education employees are people who have their orders. What a club is to be like, what it is to get involved in, which books the library is to buy, and so forth is largely determined from the outside, by cultural and trade union organs, party committees, centers for methodology, library acquisitions centers, and God knows who else. Little depends on the rural cultural employee himself; his "own handwriting" and creative individuality in this sphere are limited by the "framework," beginning with ideological directives and speculative college "sciences" of cultural and educational work and through report indicators, instructions, and methodological recommendations. In the sphere of education, the idea of "author's school" has been acknowledged. What about the clubs and libraries? They were suffocated in the embrace of multitudes of cultural managers.

On the other hand, rural cultural facilities do not depend on the population at all. These facilities do not report to the populace; it is not up to the latter to determine what size staff should be maintained, and how much it should be paid, and whether they deserve a diploma or a victory banner: allegedly, all such things are only discernible from on high.

What About Restructuring?

Shortly before the 27th CPSU Congress, with a view to democratizing the clubs and on a command from "on high," reports by cultural and educational facilities to the population were arranged throughout some regions, and in some places, also the elections of boards, social councils, and managers. However, this did not go beyond a one-time "pick-up." The point is not only whether a club or library employee wants to report to the people or not—the population had no use for these reports.

The radical reform of economic relations in rural areas, including ownership relations, proposed by the March plenum of the Central Committee of the party, is aimed at restoring to the rural toiler the rights and feeling of the master of the land. This undoubtedly also amounts to a cultural reform, because, among other things, it expands the legal opportunities of farms—to build a fountain, or a philharmonic. It is also so because a genuine master cannot be ordered what and how to do something, and, therefore, we may hope that the "depersonalization" in cultural development, whereby in a Turkmen village the same thing had to be done as in a Baltic Area village, will come to an end. It is also so because the feeling of being a master brings about the emergence of the feeling of dignity in a person, which is a powerful driving force of cultural development.

However, even the most independent and affluent rural master will only be able to change the situation in "local culture," in the one that is capable of striking local roots. Modern cultural life also includes spiritual values generated and propagated by regional and national centers. Television is the main such center at present. Outlays for the "televiewing" by rural citizens exceed those for all remaining kinds of cultural activities combined by a factor of 4 to 6. Therefore, the chairman of Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] is the real minister of culture for the rural areas.

However, it only seems so. Both the comprehensive reception of television and its technical quality depend on the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry and the Ministry of Communications, the leasing of whose facilities claims about 75 percent of the funds allocated to the Gosteleradio. These are the main "ministers of culture" for many millions of rural citizens.

There is an entire array of those "main" ministers. Along with the above ministries, there are also the trade unions, the Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography], the Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] with its publishing houses, the bookstore network and library acquisitions facilities, and the Ministry of Trade with its "culture-related items..."

In Poland, small "cultural centers" are created in small villages; frequently, they are located not even in special buildings, but in adapted rooms in residential homes and service facilities which are about 50 square meters large. They are equipped with TV sets, tape recorders, and several dozen titles of magazines and newspapers, books which one may buy or just leaf through. The hostess sells coffee, beer, and periodicals. All of this is called a "RUCH Club." The RUCH is the same thing as our Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for Press Distribution of the USSR Ministry of Communications]. There is no charity involved here. These clubs are commercially profitable for the RUCH.

To be sure, whatever you start in our country turns out to be unprofitable for some reason. Still, the trade, service and, apparently, other sectors may do a lot for the development of culture in rural areas, if they stop believing with suspect conviction that they "have nothing to do" with culture.

However, it is not only the number of ministries that is at issue, but also their skill. As a rule, offices in charge of rural culture operate separately, and even at cross-purposes. Certainly, as long as there are offices, there will be departmental interests. Still, why should they not follow the doctrine of an old Prussian field marshal: "We march separately, but we do battle together?" This is not happening. What is the matter?

At present, they are criticizing the officials mercilessly. This is, of course, deserved, and it is the easiest way to curry favor with the liberals. But, God willing, we will get more serious with regard to criticism, and will start thinking about the reasons for which officials (managers are sometimes more numerous in the developed countries than they are here) and they are appreciated so much that the privileges of our officials do not even come close. The point is that a good management decision is the supreme productive force, while nothing does as much harm as a poor, erroneous decision. The trouble with our officials is exactly that a majority of them are by and large deprived of the right to make decisions, deprived of the very authority taking away which is now attempted with much devotion. This authority, at least in the cultural sphere, is so diffused, so fragmented among the managers, that the imperious and insolent attitude is only found in their facial expression, whereas deep down they feel helpless: Any intention, even the most miniscule one, requires no end of "coordination" and "endorsements." This means that the numbers of officials should be reduced again and again, but the sectors for which they are responsible, and, mainly, their authority need to be expanded. After all, the stem of of the word "official" ["chinovnik"] is "chin," which means "order." We are not complaining about the excess of order when we berate the officials in their capacity of people involved in professional management.

At present, the idea of concentrating management functions is fashionable. Why should we not unify the offices in the sphere of culture, and give this sphere to one ministry? However, the experience of Agroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] has revealed that this approach merely substitutes intraoffice barriers for interoffice ones, and that's all. This means that a new type of management arrangements, a self-developing one is needed. After all, culture is not one of the spheres in which management amounts to a direct influence on the system in a manner, such that the latter, to accomplish a goal set on the outside. Ultimately, everything in this sphere hinges on personalities. In turn, personalities do not operate in keeping with instructions. This is why culture needs to be led rather than managed, but not led in the sense of "putting one's hand to it" while signing papers. They maintain that the very word "to lead"

["rukovodit"] is derived from the ancient "rukoit," which means rally, unite people around oneself rather than give commands and allow or forbid things.

So, how are we to improve the leadership of cultural development of rural areas, of the process of this development breaking through to a level which will bring rural areas closer to the city? Perhaps, in the following manner: fewer routine arrangements, fewer reports, and more conditions for the emergence and operation in the "lower echelons" of individuals and organizations capable of "rallying" people.

Schools are the foci of intellectuals in rural areas. The program of social development in rural areas adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers recommends that rural educational, cultural, and athletic centers be created there.

Everything appears to be quite simple. The merger of all resources in the hands of the school director will bring a tremendous practical effect through concentration. This will also bring about saving construction expenses (this economy will not make the architecture poorer if talented people are to be drafted for the endeavor: They say that it was exactly the insufficient size of the marble rock that made Michelangelo "invent" the famous reserved gesture of Moses which is astoundingly expressive). This also resolves the issue of overcoming the gap between education and culture, which may be the most unsound phenomenon in our Soviet culture, and the most dramatic in its results.

However, how do you cure a sick person who believes that he is healthy? After all, the ministries are still surprisingly talented when it comes to inventing thick problems which make common sense give up. Creating the educational, cultural, and athletic centers will immediately run into many problems: working together, but getting salaries separately, from different ministries? The director of the school will be the manager of the center, but some of his subordinates will be employees of other offices: the Ministry of Culture, the Goskomsport [State Committee for Sports], trade unions, and so forth? In keeping with which norms is the janitor to work—they differ at the school and at the club? What about restrictions on joint appointments within the same establishment? What about the statistical reporting forms—we all work together, but report everyone for himself?

Actually, these are no problems at all—several knowledgeable managers are in a position to devise an arrangement for the operation of a cultural, educational, and athletic center within days. However, in recent times real trouble in our country began with the fear of imaginary troubles. This is when such behind-the-desk inventions were created as "cultural-athletic complexes" which, in a way, united various offices, while at the same time nothing changed due to this. In this reference, let us recall the following piece of popular wisdom: He who has tripped is not stupid, but he who has tripped twice in the same place is.

Certainly, overcoming considerable cultural differences between rural and urban areas is also an urban concern. The resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers on the program of social development in rural areas provides for creating a "unified system" of health care, small repairs, trade, and transportation services for rural citizens utilizing on a broad scale the potential of cities "with a view to overcoming the lag in villages in these kinds of services in an accelerated manner." For some reason, "culture" is not included in this "unified system." There are no serious grounds for this at all. Apparently, culture has been "forgotten" yet again—is this the infamous "residual approach?"

Now all of us have come to believe in salvation through redistributing powers from the central to local echelons. This is also what is looming in the sphere of culture. However, "the first swallows" bring us alarming results: The strain in local budgets is bringing about a reduction in outlays for culture rather than an increase. In some republics and oblasts, rayon departments of culture are eliminated (with a view to reducing the administrative apparatus), which consisted of one person to begin with. Funds for maintaining clubs, libraries, and other cultural facilities, puny to begin with, are being reduced.

Certainly, things are seen more clearly at the local level. Still, given the current low level of culture of not only the general populace but the administrative apparatus as well, it is necessary to establish certain norms for the financing of culture from local budgets, especially in rural areas. Possibly, a standard needs to be set in every 5-year plan for funding for culture in rubles per capita for the all-union budget, an insurance "state minimum" of sorts. This "state minimum" should vary among union republics on the principle that the lower the volume of cultural services per capita currently is, the higher the standard.

The so-called methodological management of the operation of cultural establishments is one of the "freezers" of cultural life in rural areas. The content of numerous "methodological circulars" is such that complex subordinate sentences for the expression of "ideas" turn out to be something in the nature of a pretentious literary style. They say that the reason is found in the poor education and professionalism of rural culture and education employees, who do not understand "intellectual" writings. On many occasions, it is indeed so. Nothing will change until the personnel situation in rural areas (and also in methodological centers and other "headquarters" for the cultural sphere) is changed. Why would we not change it? They shrug their shoulders: There are no people.

By now, it looks like urbanites will begin to move to rural areas as the economic reform there progresses, and cooperatives and leasing spring up, including those who retain their urban residence permits and dwellings. Could it be that the time has come to restore a great Russian (and not only Russian) tradition—a pilgrimage of intelligentsia to the people? Maybe we will bring

ourselves to suggest to the thousands of young people whose civic involvement and the desire to act have been awakened by restructuring, to set out to villages, and lease a club and a library there, create "people's houses," communes of cultural pioneers, and become the enlighteners of rural areas? Could it be that not only the writer Ivan Vasilyev, this Soviet "Goethe in Veimar," but hundreds and thousands of other writers, artists, musicians, and art historians will come into their own in villages? After all, is it not crowded for them in Moscow, where at present one-quarter of creative arts intellectuals of the country live, and one-half of those in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]?

The ideology of restructuring is based on the unity of continuity and changes, the firmness of profound fundamentals and the scope of novelties. A cultural ascent of rural areas is only possible on such a basis. Overcoming cultural differences between rural and urban areas cannot be achieved in keeping with the formula "who wins out over whom"—the folk cultural tradition or urbanized culture, ministries or local self-government. The task in store for us is different—it presupposes a deliberate combination of the two contradictory elements rather than the elimination of one of them. However, the point is to get moving, and do it with the appreciation of the scope of necessary changes.

Economic

Finance Minister Outlines Economic Policy

PM2107145489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 16 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with USSR Minister of Finance Valentin Pavlov by Vladimir Volin: "Towards a Healthy Rouble"—place, date not given]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet, after a heated debate, confirmed the nomination of Valentin Pavlov as USSR Minister of Finance. Pavlov granted MN the following interview:

Q.: The need for decisive actions to fight inflation is evident. Are you clear about what actions should be made?

A.: First of all, we must create a system for controlling money circulation in our national economy. For a long time such a system has been non-existent. We ignored the unity of cash and cheque flow. The devaluation of cash we are witnessing today is the result of decades of arbitrary growth in cash circulation which was not supported by an adequate rise in the production of commodities.

Therefore, our primary task is to bar such decisions on distribution which do not take into consideration the long-term effect on the market. The approach is simple enough: first produce real commodities, and then distribute them. You can't distribute what hasn't been produced yet.

We're in for a serious struggle against emission. Since January 1989, the issuing of paper money unsupported by goods on the market ran into about five billion roubles. Production of paper instead of real money must be stopped. Therefore we'll use every possible means to introduce an effective austerity programme, to further cost accounting and the financial independence of enterprises.

I'm talking in very general terms because the system, of measures designed to normalize our finances—only a systems approach can help, mind you—is being developed now.

Q.: What would you personally do if your purse was a mirror reflection of the state budget?

A.: In a case like this, not only I—but many other ministers also—would begin selling their personal property to pay the debts we inherited from the past. But even that might not help.

As an idea, however, this proposition is right. In a healthy economy the well-being of every citizen, be it a worker or government minister, must be related to his/her performance. Let's return to this proposition in five years' time. I hope by then our economy's shaken health will have normalized.

Official Examines Gasoline Shortages

18220168 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with N. Chinaryan, deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Petroleum Products, by D. Demidov: "Where Has the Gasoline Gone?"]

[Text] **Today in many cities in the country an alarming picture can be seen: idle gas pumps with signs saying "No Gasoline." Dreadful rumors are circulating. But what has happened. We asked the deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Petroleum Products N. Chinaryan to answer this question.**

[Chinaryan] There are many reasons for this and they are all interconnected. Our department receives planned funds from the RSFSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] and Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and then takes them into account and monitors their realization. In principle we should receive this plan—the balance sheet for the allocation of petroleum products—at the end of each year for the following year. As a rule it is delayed. This year we learned what amount of fuel the economy could count on only on 21 March. And after we had carefully analyzed this document it became clear that the figure was 3.5 million tons short, that is, the fuel was not confirmed by the suppliers. For example, more than 1 million tons should have been delivered by the Astrakhan gas condensate complex. Although it was known that it would be impossible for it to do this because the technology did

not permit it. And this enterprise recently closed altogether for 4 months and there are grounds for thinking that it will resume operations before the end of the year.

The extremely unsatisfactory work of the railroads has also played its part in a complicated situation. The lack in the Ministry of Railways of standard tanker cars has led to a situation in which various facilities have failed to receive more than 3 million tons of fuel. Our complaints are particularly great against the Kuybyshev, Volga, North Caucasus and certain other railroad lines. The stoppages in the operations of enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Chemicals and Petroleum Refining Industry have also complicated the situation. In particular in Bashkiria, Omsk, Groznyy...

Strange as it may seem a major role has been played here by the weather. It is common knowledge that one subsidiary product from gasoline production is fuel oil. As a rule it is used for heating. The warm winter sharply reduced consumption of this product. As a result, huge amounts remained in the warehouses at enterprises of the Ministry of Power and Electrification (thermal power plants and so forth). They simply started to turn away new deliveries. And the fuel oil was left at the plants themselves. At some of them the storage tanks are full to overflowing and new oil for processing is not being accepted.

The warm spring made it possible to start field work earlier than usual. And simultaneously in the south and in the center of the country. The fuel remaining from last year was quickly used up and now vehicles at farms in the North Caucasus, Rostov, Krasnodar Kray and the Stavropol area are literally kept running by coasting whenever possible.

[Demidov] So the slightest delay results in a stoppage?

[Chinaryan] If the tanker cars with the gasoline are one day late then the vehicles will come to a standstill... And this year the harvest is outstanding. This is the paradox: We are purchasing grain worth millions of rubles and here we have the problem of how to gather in our own harvest!

[Demidov] Perhaps we should halt gasoline exports?

[Chinaryan] This has already been done. As soon as this proposal was put forward at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, without waiting for permission from the authorities we reduced exports by several hundred thousand tons and switched them for the need of the country's national economy.

[Demidov] This has obviously not been enough. So what is the solution to the crisis?

[Chinaryan] First, the fuel oil should be moved from the refineries as soon as possible. Second, we must insure rhythmic freight operations. I note that in the past 2 weeks two schedules have been drawn up for the movement of petroleum products and both have been disrupted.

[Demidov] Nevertheless, when will the gasoline appear?

[Chinaryan] This does not depend on us. Let me count off the departments that may influence the state of things: the USSR Gossnab, the Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, the RSFSR Ministry of River Fleet... According to our predictions the situation will not change until the end of September, until the harvesting has been completed....

And so the picture is clear. For the *n*th time we are dealing with ill-considered planning in which shortages were written in right from the start. The fallaciousness of these kinds of administrative methods in management of the economy becomes obvious with even the slightest encounter with reality. It sounds ridiculous but it is not some natural calamity but merely warm weather that has led to a critical situation. For the country possessing the richest deposits of oil such a crisis is outrageous. I would like to believe that all necessary steps will be taken immediately.

Agricultural

Lithuanian Agro-Industrial Committee Disbanded

LD2207103189 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Vilnius July 22 TASS—By ELTA Correspondent Jonas Bagdanskis:

The Lithuanian Council of Ministers has finally disbanded the Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom), a stronghold of bureaucratism which only served to hamper agricultural production. It has been replaced by the Ministry of Agriculture with a small apparatus. It will not interfere in the everyday work of the farms, but will engage in long-term planning and help introduce the latest scientific and technological innovations, coordinate relations with union republics and other countries and protect the legal interests of farmers. The minister was appointed with the approval of the republican farmers' council.

A law was adopted on creating farms in Lithuania, which is also indicative of dramatic changes in the life of farmers from this republic. Now they are masters of the situation: They can choose by themselves their method of farming.

"The law on farms adopted in Lithuania says that the land shall be freely given to peasants to be used in perpetuity, with the right to bequeath it," Knasis [not further identified] explained. He recalled that farms had existed in the republic before collectivisation which was completed 40 years ago. "At present we have only 1,000

applications from peasants. Many large collective and state farms have reached a high production level. Their milk yield per cow is 4,000-5,000 kilograms and they turn out much meat. Almost all industrialised agricultural enterprises breeding 12,000 pigs, or from 1,000 to 4,000 head of cattle, as well as bib poultry farms, hothouse and other specialised farms are doing well. Wages are high there, and people do not wish to take land for individual farming. People working there are becoming shareholders of their respective enteprises."

Those who wish to take up individual farming are mostly peasants from economically weak collective and state farms. Under the law, they can be freely given up to 50 hectares of land from the land fund created by the state or from the land reserves of collective and state farms. Material assistance will be rendered to them to give them a start. They can receive easy-term credits and will be exempt from taxes for some time.

"Our objective is to create a highly productive agricultural sector, including individual farms. The new law provides guarantees for this," Knasis said.

14-21 Jul Agricultural Developments Reported
LD2207023689

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 14 to 21 July, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

14 July

Southern Belorussia has begun harvsting grain. Many farms are getting 35 quintals of winter rye per hectare. Repeat sowing of grain is under way in Uzbekistan. About 70,000 hectares are to be sown with corn, with a planned autumn grain yield of 50 quintals per hectare. (1500)

15 July

No fileworthy items monitored.

16 July

Mass harvesting is under way in Ryazan oblast. To date, grain has been threshed from an area of almost 200,000 hectares, which is one-fifth of the area sown. The grain crops in the oblast are in good condition. (1100)

17 July

Mass harvesting of grain has begun in the south of the Non-Chernozem Zone. (0000)

18 July

Harvesting began in the south of Udmurtiya today. Grain occupies about 700,000 hectares, which is less than planned because some of the crops have been killed off by the heat. (0204)

19 July

Above-plan sales of grain to the state are being conducted today by farms of Uzbekistan. Fergana Valley farmers have been pleased with the high yields: There the return on irrigated land in many collective and state farms has amounted to 35 and more quintals. (0204)

Farms of all oblasts of Belorussia are harvesting grain today. The harvest is difficult: In a number of places, especially in northwestern areas, the crops have been flattened. Machine operators are urgently refitting combines for reaping grain. (0204)

Mass harvesting of grain has begun in collective and state farms of Bashkiria. One specific feature of the present harvest is that leasehold links are the masters of the fields. The harsh draught—for the third year running—has parched the crops in many areas. The heat and draught started in mid-May. Sowings of spring crops, including hard wheat and barley, were especially affected. (0204)

The first combines have gone out into the fields of the Mari non-Chernozem zone: Harvesting of peas and winter rice has begun. (0204)

20 July

Machine operators of Kazakhstan have completed harvesting on 1,000,000 ha. Nine of the republic's 17 oblasts are harvesting. The summer drought has considerably damaged the crops, and in comparison with last year the harvest is worse. Only farms in Aktyubinsk Oblast are now garnering more grain than last year. (0000)

Over 75 percent of the necessary quantity of hay has been laid in to date by collective and state farms of Omsk Oblast. In six rayons of the southern wood and steppe zones, planed tasks have already been fulfilled. Things are different in the northern region: In Ust-Ishimskiy and Atvricheskiy Rayons machine operators have managed to fulfill only a third of the overall volume of procurements. (0000)

In the Lvovino Oblast no instructions have been given from above as to when the crops should be harvested or where they should be stored. These decisions are made locally. On average throughout the oblast 31 quintals/hectares of winter barley is being threshed, while some farms reach 34-39 quintals/hectares. More winter barley is yielded than last year—29-30 quintals/hectares. Winter rape is yielding 12-20 quintals/hectares. (0800)

In the Kostroma non-Chernozem zone, the harvest is underway in the southern rayons but only 90 percent of the combines are ready, due to the shortage of spare parts

and equipment. For instance, in the oblast there is a shortage of metal screens for areas under forced ventilation of over 40,000 sq meters. Eight hundred combines are not in use because of the shortage of batteries in the oblast. Harvest began there a week earlier. The harvest of barley has begun - on average 25 quintals/hectares is being yielded. Around 63-64 percent of hay has been laid in store, 57 percent of haylage and 62of silage. (0800)

The harvest is ending in the Crimea. From each hectare 37.8 quintals of grain are being harvested, more than 10 quintals than planned. Almost half of the sown area is beign farmed by lease contractors. Many of the collective and state farms have already fulfilled the state orders, but are continuing to send grain to the elevators. (1100)

21 July

Harvesting has begun in Tanbov Oblast earlier than usual.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2033' Satellite Launched 24 Jul

LD2407132589 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Another satellite of the Cosmos-2033 series was launched in the Soviet Union today. The satellite carries scientific equipment for space exploration.

The satellite's orbit has the following parameters: The initial peropd of revolution—92.3 minutes, the maximum distance from the Earth's surface—436 kilometers, the minimum distance—410 kilometers, the inclination of the orbit—65.0 degrees.

The satellite also carries: A radio system for high-precision measurements of the orbit, a radiotelemetric system for transmitting data concerning the operatios of equipment and scientific devices.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Health, Ecology at Semipalatinsk Examined

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian l8 Jul 89 p 4

[TASS report from Semipalatinsk titled "Without the Stamp of Secrecy"]

[Text] The stamp of secrecy has been removed from information on the effects of underground nuclear explosions on the environment. A scientific-practical conference—"The Health of the Population and the Ecological Situation in Semipalatinsk Oblast"—began Monday in the oblast center. It summed up the activities of a large group of experts, who have been studying, without conjecture, the true status of affairs connected with the problem of the operations of the testing site near Semipalatinsk.

For almost a month, leading specialists of the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, and responsible institutions and departments of the country conducted an investigation under the leadership of A. Tsyba, director of Scientific-Research Institute of Medical Radiology and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. A comprehensive medical investigation of the local population was carried out; an analysis made of the soil, water, and air; and data examined on the seismological status of the earth's core.

To conduct an in-depth and comprehensive investigation of this subject, all investigations were carried out in sections in ten of the most pressing areas. The activity of the group of experts was constantly within the field of vision of the press, television, and radio.

Military

Yazov Addresses Army Political Workers Gathering

PM2107231589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed account of Lizichev, Yazov speeches at 11-13 July 1989 gathering of chiefs of divisions' political sections at Moscow M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army: "Mastering Political Methods of Leadership"]

[Excerpts] As already reported a gathering of chiefs of divisions' political sections was held 11-13 July in Moscow City at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army. It was opened by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. A report entitled "Primary Political Organs: Experience and Paths for the Further Restructuring of the Style and Methods of Their Work as Organs of Political Leadership" was delivered by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. [passage omitted: Lizichev speech to be published when translation available]

The gathering's participants were addressed by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. He described in detail the contemporary political situation, the main tends and distinctive features of its development, the key problems on the solution of which depend not only the destiny of social progress and peace, but also the very survival of mankind, and he also noted the growing impact on the positive solution of these problems of the active policy of the Soviet state and its allies which is permeated by new political thinking.

Analyzing the domestic political situation, the minister drew attention of those present to the criticism of the party which has been ringing out of late. This, he said, is criticism directed at each of us Communists because a party member does not have the right to dissociate

himself from the party, from responsibility for the state of affairs in the party. But there is criticism and criticism. Constructive, effective criticism is regarded by the party as an irrepracable instrument of democracy, as a reliable method of bringing to light and resolving difficulties and contradictions. And the fact that our party has embarked on the open admission of its defects, errors, and problems attests to its inner stregth. The experience of history bears out the fact that this is inevitably accompanied by various kinds of false interpretations, sudden swoops, and attacks. V.I. Lenin taught that we should not fear these and go firmly on our way. At the same time, having no fear does not mean shrugging off such attacks and pretending that they do not exist, and not repulsing them. Today an unseen but intnse struggle is going on for hearts and minds. The front of this struggle lies through all political-educational work which the writer V. Karpov figuratively decribed as an eternal battle. Political workers must be on the foremost edge of this battle.

As Army and Navy reality attests, the authority of the CPSU in the Army and Navy is high and firm. The personnel of the Armed Forces view the party as the political vanguard of the people. It links the success of the revolutionary renewal of society with the party, with the line of the 27th congress, with the line of the 19th Conference of the CPSU.

The minister went on to dwell on issues connected with the place and role of the political organs of the Army and Navy in the solution of the tasks of restructuring all aspects of military life. He observed that the times demand of the political organs' workers exceptional responsibility, and a persistent quest for new and most effective approaches to the solution of specific issues and problems. The sector of work entrusted to them has always been of paramount importance. But its significance today is special. An active politicization of society and of the Army is taking place. In the processes of restructuring more and more people are becoming involved. Their ideological, philosophical, and moral foundations are being tested by deeds and by practical work. Under these conditions the words of a political worker and his personal example of adherence to principle, militancy, ideological maturity, and ability to actively counter attempts to supplant democracy with demagoguery play a tremendous role.

A resolute activation of the political organs' efforts to deepen the processes of restructuring in military life, the processes of its democratization, and of their efforts to enhance the service and political activeness of the personnel is essential. As applied to the work of the political organ the party's precept about ensuring the effectiveness of defense organizational development primarily by qualitative parameters has a perfectly definite content and is addressed to a specific quarter. Both of these can be expressed by a single word—Man. It is though Man and only through him that any component of the Armed Forces combat potential is realized. By his labor and his attitude to matters, to his duty, to his service obligations, and to his comrades the practical tasks of restructuring are fulfilled and its objectives are achieved.

The process of restructuring in the Armed Forces is not developing straightforwardly. Much has been done, great experience has been accumulated of working in the new style in a number of large units and units, above all in the airborne assault forces, in the Carpathian, Far East, and Leningrad Military Districts, in the Western Group of Forces, and in the Baltic and Black Sea Fleets. But many shortcomings persist as before. And a big share of responsibility for this rests with the chiefs of the political sections. Some of them are continuing to work in the old way, without taking acount of new phenomena, including also negative phenomena which have appeared of late. The duty of the political section is to see these phenomena, analyze them and to take specific steps to actively overcome them. And this can be done only with real reliance on the individual approach to people, rather than just paying lipservice to this approach.

However sophisticated technology may be, only man is capable of breathing life into it. Here lies the sphere of application of the stregths of the political workers to the realization of the qualitative parameters as regards equipment. None other than the political workers are called upon to rouse people to master weapons and equipment, to enhance combat skill, and technical proficiency. The focus of all work in this direction must be the nurturing of a desire in officers and soliders to acquire a good knowledge of weapons and combat equipment, and to handle and use them knowledgeably and skillfully. We must strive to ensure that it should be a matter of pride for a serviceman to be able to get out of a wepaon everything that reposes in its design, to use it the most efficiently in any situation, and to achieve the maximum possible results.

Any matter depends upon masters of that matter. The mastery of military and combat skills is one of the main points of reference for each serviceman. In this connection the defense minister particularly stressed one aspect of the matter directly connected with skill. Great significance used to be imparted to it on the front, but in postwar years, judging by all accounts, it has proved to be virtually forgotten. I am talking about the nurturing of love for weapons and combat hardware, firm confidence in their reliability and might, and a sense of pride in them. Without this there is not only no master, there is no serviceman either, in the full sense of that word. The struggle for the mastery of military skill is extraordinarily topical and no less important for the attainment of the strategic goals of restructuring the sector of work of the political organs, of all political workers. People have to be roused to the campaign for skill, to realize for these purposes the potential of the party and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, and of all democratic institutions, and the entire Army and Navy community.

A crucial sector of work for the political sections is the unswerving enhancement of the quality and efficiency of management. The political section must constantly keep in the sphere of its attention both the improvement of the training, and the combat coordination of the organs of management, and also the consistent mastery of automation means, and new methods and forms of leadership of the troops. It is clear that only interconnected forward progression in both these directions can ensure the real enhancement of the quality of mangement. But it is no less clear that it is not the number of orders, directives, instructions, and other documents prepared, nor the number of visits and inspections that must act as criteria of quality, but the degree of real influence on the improvement of matters in the units, on ships, and in subunits that are under one's control, and the influence on the enhancement of specific results in combat training and the military discipline of the personnel.

The solution of the task of the intensification of the combat training of the troops is closely linked with the quality of mangement. The components of the concept of intensification are precise organization, a high methodological standard, comprehesiveness, economy, and the maximum useful return from each hour and each minute of training sessions. And the working mechanism of intensification consists of the combination of the perfection of combat training normatives and measures for instilling order in the training and educational process with an uncompromising eradication of ostentation and show, indulgences and oversimplication, the "dumb schooling" of the personnel, and their separation from the training process. It is important that the political sections should really get to grips with reviving and introducing into the daily practice of the troops' training and education the principle, tried and tested by numerous generations of servicemen, of "teaching what is needed in war." Here the accent must be on the qualitative assimilation of the demands of the new combat regulations and their implementation in daily training and combat pratice.

There are no tasks tackled by the troops and naval forces, there are no aspects of the life and activity of the personnel which lie outside the daily political amnd party influence of the division's political section. But undoubtedly a special place in its activity belongs to questions of strengthening military discipline. It acts at the same time as a condition, a means, and a guarantee of restructuring, and lies at the basis of regulation order, of the implementation of the principle of one-man command, and of the precise functioning of the entire military organism. Addressing the chiefs of the political sections, the defense minister recalled that discipline is not just a legal term, but also a political and moral one. It is well known that V.I. Lenin linked the very birth of the Red Army as a new type of army with the firm establishment of socialist military discipline in the Red Army. And what do we mean by "socialist?" It means discipline based on the principles of consciousness, comradeship, respect for the dignity of the individual, selflessness, mutual aid, and assistance. Each of these principles are directly part and parcel of the sphere of responsibility of the political worker, and fall within the ambit of his daily practical activity. And if today there are substantial deficiencies in each of the fundamental components of military discipline, then the Army and Navy political workers must obviously bear their share of the blame for this.

Army General D. Yazov stressed the need to strengthen and enhance the prestige of the political organs of the Armed Forces and of the Army and Navy political workers in every way. It is important to cherish and augment the heroic traditions of the commissars of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars. Their arsenal of forms and methods of work with people, of daily political influence on the personnel ought to be attentively studied, mastered, and actively and creatively applied to present-day practice. The defense minister talked with particular warmth about the political leader of his company—the first political worker that he got to know on the front—and of whom he has retained for the rest of his life good memories. In what lies the strength of political workers on the front? In their personal example of staunchness, selflessness, firmness of spirit, and their ability always and in any situation to share their warmth of heart with the men, to support them, to inspire confidence in their own strength, and to help them. And to no lesser degree it lies in their ability to involve each fighter in the common work, to arouse and to consolidate comradely relations in practice. Unfortunately contemporary political workers by no means always know how to conduct and nor do they conduct such specific work imbued with genuine attention to each man.

This is one of the reasons for the insufficient effectiveness in certain large units, units, and ships of the work to strengthen military discipline and to eradicate nonregulation mutual relations among servicemen. It is perfectly obvious that by working "in general and on the whole," by relying on administration by injunction as is sometimes still the case, one cannot deal with this evil. Nor can one count on success if a profound, thoughtful analysis is not made of the reasons for negative phenomena. Unfortunately the causes are sometimes arbitrarily supplanted by effects and the preconditions are thereby created for the automatic reproduction of the conditions predisposing to violations, crimes, and incidents. After all, instead of preventing them, steps are taken when they are already faits accomplis. Here, matters boil down to holding various kinds of monthly cmapiagns, 10-day campaigns, and other such measures. Getting carried away with mass measures, the statistical approach, ignorance of the real state of affairs on the spot, ignorance of the mood of the men—all these are old, outmoded methods of work that belong to the era before restructuring.

Issues connected with interethnic mutual relations need the closest, daily attention. To strive to ensure that all command and political cadres tackle with the utmost

responsibility, delicacy, and tact the problems that arise in military collectives or which are brought in from outside, and to guarantee the unconditionally equal and fair treatment of servicemen of all nationalities, and the close cohesion and combat friendship of the personnel is a matter of honor for the political section and for all political workers. It is important that our Army should indeed become for the servicemen a genuine school in internationalism.

The turnaround toward man which has been placed on the agenda by restructuring presupposes the cardinal improvement of cadre work. A paramount role in this belongs to the political organs and political workers. The main point of reference here is support for competent, responsible, enterprising people who are capable of self-critically assessing the state of affairs and of finding new, nonstandard solutions and of organizing their practical realization.

As is known, over the last 2 years major cadre desions have been made in the Ministry of Defense. Many generals and officers who have served their established terms have been discharged from the Army. This process is continuing. Almost 1,400 posts of general and 11,000 posts of colonel have been abolished. Permanent certification commissions have been established in all large units and units. There are not just for form's sake. These are a powerful lever for democratization and for the observance of the principles of social justice in tackling questions connected with promotion, movement within the service, nomination for awards, and with the conferment of military titles.

A broad package of measures is also envisaged for the further strengthening of the officer corps under conditions of the reduction of the Armed Forces which has now begun, for its prompt replenishment, for the constant improvement of the system of the leading cadres' training and acquisition of skills, and for their mastering of political methods of leadership. It is important to step up work on strengthening the philosophical and moral-psychological staunchness of officers, on nurturing in them high, exacting notions of an officer's honor and dignity. Together with the commanders, the chiefs of political sections must tackle on a more concrete basis and more persistently the social questions of the service, life, daily round, and leisure of officers and their families. Special attention must be paid to the professional and spiritual growth, daily round, and material provision of young officers—to the future of the Army and Navy. All cadre issues must be tackled openly with the broad involvement of the community.

The political organs are called upon to find and actively introduce into practice new approaches, new forms and methods of work aimed at the further development and strengthening of businesslike links and contacts with local party and soviet organs. It is essential to plan thoughtfully, prepare comprehensively, and conduct joint measures systematically. It is very important to step up mass defense and military patriotic work among the population and enhance its effectiveness. A principled rebuff must be given to any nationalistic manifestations, instances of groundless, abstract pacifism, attempts to discredit the Armed Forces, and to belittle the prestige of military service. It is ncessary to be more consistent and firm in the defense of the social interests of the servcicemen, in the job placement of their wives, and in providing officers with housing and work when they are discharged into the reserve in connection with the reduction of the Armed Forces.

The defense minister paid great attention to modern demands on the political worker and on the chief of the large unit's political section. He must be not only a military professional in the fullest sense of this word, but also a model of principle, moral purity, sincerity, and closeness to people. To a tremendous extent the cohesion of the officer collective, the moral-political atmosphere in the large unit, unit, or ship, and the character of mutual relations with the local party and soviet organs and the public organizations depend on him. The defense minister particularly stressed the significance of correct mutrual relations between the chief of the political section and the commander. These mutual relations must be a kind of standard for the all the officers of the large unit. The commander and the chief of the political section work hand in hand, in harmony, in concert, jointly tackling the tasks set before the large unit. Of course this does not mean that they, so to speak, have to follow each other around. Each is required to fulfill his own functional duties.

In conclusion the defense minister of the USSR, Army General D. Yazov, emphasized once again that the chief thing in party-political work today is the further activation of the activity of all levels of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations, and the mobilization of the personnel for the full and high-standard fulfillment of the tasks set before the Armed Forces.

At the conclusion of the gathering, its participants heard a series of lectures on topical problems of party-political work.

Those present were addressed by A. Soshnikov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department. Taking part in the work of the gathjering were senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee N. Shlyaga, N. Batarchuk, and N. Chukardin, and also S. Teteryatnikov, chief of a department of the USSR People's Control Committee.

An order by the USSR defense minister on incentive awards to a number of chiefs of political organs was announced. The results of the gathering were summed up by Army General A. Lizichev.

Yazov Views Restructuring in the Armed Forces
LD2107145089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 16 Jul 89 p 11

[Interview with USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov by Vladimir Ostrovskiy: "Dmitriy Yazov and the Art of Defence"; date, place not given; first paragraph is Moscow News introduction]

[Text] General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov rebuffed attacks from deputies and retained his post as USSR Minister of Defence. One more salvo came from an APN analyst.

Q.: Deputy V. Kiseleva, an apparatus operator, maintains that some soldiers fire as few as seven shots from weapons during their entire period of service. Isn't this a fact the army would prefer to keep under wraps?

A.: Kiseleva didn't say how many times these soldiers missed, but sticking to the facts, our tankmen shoot two times with combat shells during their service. Unfortunately Kiseleva didn't mention who fired which weapons. There are missilemen who do not shoot at all since the training sessions for several units in missile launching are carried out simultaneously.

Q.: Perestroika in our army, apparently, doesn't suit everyone, especially those used to the old system. Haven't you heard about the rumours in the West of a military coup in the USSR?

A.: Thank you for not asking me to name the time, place and ringleader. Such rumours miss the point. Obviously among those who spread them are people who would like to suggest that the USSR Armed Forces are not part of Soviet society and not working for its interests. This typical reaction is firmly entrenched and, I believe, on the level of a plainbarrel gun. One can fire it, there will be a lot of noise, but the bullet won't go far....

Q.: Are you embarrassed by the fact that deputy-officers sharply criticized the army? Why didn't you speak about the problems yourself?

A.: The deputy-officers were right to raise the problems. But they spoke based on the experience of only their unit or military district. As a Minister, I have fuller information. Not overlooking details, I must see ways to radically improve the situation in the army. My main concern is to enhance the country's defence and maintain necessary and sufficient battle readiness by raising the standards for equipment supplied to all branches of the armed services. The reasons for starting perestroika in the army is that we are not satisfied with the status quo. Add to this the problem of cuts in the personnel and conventional armaments, the complete elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, the withdrawal of tanks, artillery and aircraft from Central Europe.... And don't forget the changes in the structure of our formations and the army as a whole, so as to be exclusively defensive in orientation. Each of these problems is worth special consideration and each has more than one solution. We must find the best possible and most effective solution for ensuring our security without unnecessary expense and without damaging the security of any other nation. This is our belief and we act on it consistently as I told people's deputies.

Q.: In many Western countries with a multiparty system, the army is removed from political activity. In Western parliaments there are no servicemen deputies. Don't you find this convenient for the army? Deputies get the whole information about it from the Minister while within the army nobody criticizes him?

A.: I am convinced that if the army is an integral part of society—as it is in the Soviet Union—it is inadmissible to deprive the army of political rights guaranteed every Soviet citizen by the Constitution. I regard it as useful to report back to people's deputies, servicemen included, and consider it an honour to do so. I believe that the Committee for Defence and State Security will help the army with its work. The Soviet people have authorized us to defend their security and independence and, above all, to prevent a war. And it is quite logical that we shall report back to the Supreme Soviet elected by the people. This is what a minister, like any official functionary, must do.

Q.: What have you learned from the discussion of your candidature?

A.: That the Supreme Soviet is a mature and demanding legislative and control body and, apparently, its exactingness will increase. At the same time I realize that it is necessary to regularly inform the Supreme Soviet to prepare it for a competent discussion of all military issues. In the past a great deal in the army was kept secret. Everything was decided clannishly. Under these circumstances defects and mistakes are quite possible, the range of solutions to the problems decreases. In the past all this didn't contribute to the democratic development of military thought, which told negatively on the professionalism of commanders, on their uninhibited thinking, the training of a commander as an individual. Today we are departing from excessive secrecy. I think that glasnost strengthens security by allowing broad sections of Soviet people to participate in its strengthening and contribute conscientiously to the maintaining of our defence.

Internal Affairs Ministry Program Aired
LD2207151589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1258 GMT on 22 July broadcasts the unscheduled 8-minute "USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs" program, which replaces the 1300 GMT "Novosti" newscast.

The program opens with videotape of the recent unrest in Fergana Oblast, as the unidentified presenter says it is unthinkable that such events should take place in the

country. People ought to think about how much blood was spilled in the past to bring peace to the Soviet Union. However, the rampaging thugs in Fergana Oblast did not want to listen to the voice of reason, the presenter says, so force had to be used. "What sort of force was it? Against whom does it act? Whose interests does it defend?"

In an interview in his office, V.V. Bosov, commander of the Dzerzhinskiy Division, tells the presenter that the actions of the internal troops are witnessed by many thousands of people and that the commanders try to instill moral qualities in their men so that they always act in accordance with the law. "Our soldiers indeed give considerable assistance to the law-and-order bodies in maintaining order. We were among the first in Leninakan and Spitak. We have been fulfilling and continue to fulfil our task in Fergana Oblast," Bosov says.

The presenter says that the internal troops contain a crosssection of different ethnic and professional groups. What do they feel about the trouble in their own country?

Bosov says that the internal troops are meant to assist in emergency situations, such as natural calamities. Their training prepares the men for such missions. Ordinary Soviet people are grateful for what the internal troops do, Bosov says. The internal troops merely attempt to uphold state law.

Over video of troops training, the presenter goes on to say: "Possessing weapons does not necessarily mean using them, but what qualities do these rather young men need to possess, men for whom the idea of special missions has become a habitual thing? They are capable of much. It is said that each of them is capable of rebuffing attack from four or five armed bandits all at once. This means that it is better to act in a coordinated manner in a training battle than to be unprepared for action in real life." The video then shows troops dashing through a burning obstacle course.

A. Grushev, a soldier in a guards regiment uniform, is asked how he earned a medal which is prominent on his chest. He replies that he saved the life of a regiment commander during the Sumgait troubles.

The presenter says: "Boys grow up fast in the division, but no one thinks he will have to take part in real combat actions." Here, the video shows troops rappeling down the mockup of an apartment building.

One young soldier says that he has taken part in operations in the cities of Kizil and Novyy Uzen to release hostages who had been seized by criminals. At this point, the video shows a training exercise that involves capturing men who have hijacked a bus. Another young soldier says he and his colleagues will always use the training they have received for peaceful purposes.

P.T. Lysikov, head of the division's political department, says that the idea of democracy has to be paramount. The idea of serving the fatherland is uppermost in soldiers' minds.

V.S. Kochanov, deputy commander of the division, says that he has never felt ashamed of his men's actions.

The presenter says: "It is necessary to note that 103 people died during the Fergana events. The extremists burned 735 residential houses, 28 state installations, and 275 vehicles. One hundred sixty-four servicemen of the Internal Troops were wounded or injured."

Over more video recapturing the events in Fergana oblast, local inhabitants say they owe their lives to the Army.

The film returns to the office of Division Commander Bosov, who says he and his men have constantly to be prepared to undertake any urgent mission that may arise. The presenter sums up by saying: "There is only one purpose for the Internal Troops: the defense of law and order and peace and quiet for you and me." The program closes over shots of a training area where troop trucks and helicopters are deployed.

Fall Exercises To Reflect Troop Reductions

LD2207163389 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—In accordance with a government decision to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces, the Soviet Union is withdrawing its troops from the German Democratic Republic and Hungary.

The Soviet Union is also reorganising its units and divisions so that their structure be in line with the requirements of the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine.

Therefore, amendments have been introduced in the plan of the USSR's military activities to be notified in 1989, and the overall number of troops which will take part in the notified manoeuvres has been reduced:

—Less than 13,000 officers and men, instead of the original 25,000, and less than 300 tanks will take part in the exercises in the German Democratic Republic.

—Up to 11,000 troops, instead of 13,000, will take part in the exercises in Hungary in October.

—The airborne exercises in the Baltic military district in September will involve about 1,500 troops instead of the original 3,500.

—The number of troops to take part in manoeuvres in the Baltic military district in September has been reduced from 3,500 to about 1,500.

—About 13,000 officers and men, instead of 16,500, will participate in the manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia in September-October this year.

Reports on changes in the plan of notified Soviet military activities are being sent to all countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Vorotnikov Decorates Graduate Officers at Kremlin

LD2207193689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Report by corrresondent G. Sedov in Moscow, from the "Vremya" newscast—first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] In Moscow today the ceremonial graduation of a new detachment of young officers took place.

[Correspondent G. Sedov, identified by screen caption] Kremlin cadets at the walls of the Kremlin. The traditional ritual of the passing out of graduate officers of the Moscow Higher General Military, Command, Red Banner Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet School, Orders of Lenin and the October Revolution. Comrade Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, came to the ceremony. He is handing out diplomas and chest decorations to the best graduates. [passage omitted] [Video shows Vorotnikov on Red Square handing out diplomas]

Soviet Naval Commander on Pacific Exercise

OW2407070189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Interview of Vice Admiral (Zubov) by Colonel (Asadorov), station military observer; date and place not given]

[Text] The Soviet Pacific Fleet commenced a military exercise in the Vladivostok area of the Sea of Japan today. Station military observer Colonel (Asadorov) visited the general commanding center of the naval fleet and interviewed Vice Admiral (Zubov). The interview follows:

[Col (Asadorov)] From the scale of this exercise, can you say something special about it? How can you explain the importance that foreign countries have attached to it?

[Vice Adm (Zubov)] The military exercise now being held in the northwest area of the Sea of Japan is a routine combat-readiness exercise, the aim of which is to improve combat quality. A total of 21 warships, 37 airplanes and helicopters, and 10,000 soldiers are taking part. The exercise will test the combat capability of the fleet either at base or at sea. In my opinion, the reason that the military exercise has attracted the attention of foreign countries is because we have, for the first time, invited the military observers of the big powers in the Asia-Pacific region to attend.

[Col (Asadorov)] Though invitations were sent to 15 countries, military observers from only five countries observed the military exercise. The United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Philippines, China, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea did not send representatives. There were fewer guests at the party than originally planned.

[Vice Adm (Zubov)] There were no empty seats. Foreign media showed great interest in this military exercise. The number of reporters was greater than we originally had estimated. We showed them and military observers the most modern warships, among them destroyers, antisubmarine vessels, escorts, and guided missile vessels, of the Pacific Fleet.

[Col (Asadorov)] What can the foreign military observers learn from attending this military exercise?

[Vice Adm (Zubov)] They can see for themselves the daily life of the sailors in our fleet. It will promote better mutual understanding. There might be some reasons to explain why some countries in the Asia-Pacific region did not avail themselves of this opportunity. Maybe some people might link our good will with the reciprocity we might expect from them in the future. It is regrettable that not everyone welcomes the practice of [word indistinct] in the naval fleet's activities in the Pacific Ocean. A similar situation occurred last September during a military exercise in the Baltic Sea. At that time Denmark, Norway, Finland, the FRG, Sweden, and Iceland did not take the opportunity we offered them. Reconnaissance vessels of Denmark, Sweden, and the FRG shadowed our fleet near the military exercise zone. It appeared that they continued to act in their old way, even though we have opened our door to them.

Military Procurator on Offenses in Armed Forces

LD2107191589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Interview with Aleksandr Filippovich Katusev, chief military procurator, deputy procurator general, and state justice counselor first class, by radio correspondent Anotoliy Fedorov]

[Text] [Fedorov] Aleksandr Filippovich, you have just been apointed to—what I consider—important office of great responsibility. As is known—and quite a few spoke of it at the Congress of People's Deputies—the rate of service crime in the units and subunits of the Soviet Army is still high, and in some places discipline is not at the requisite level; so this is the first thing you are going to tackle in your office of great responsibility.

[Katusev] On 22 July, an enlarged collegium session is going to be held. The procurators of the fleets, districts, groups of armies, formations, and some garrisons have been invited to participate. At this session, we will examine the issues of concern to us. Although, thanks to the efforts by the command, political bodies, and law enforcement bodies, it has become possible to bring the crime rate in the Armed Forces down to some extent during the first 6 months of this year, crime is still a frequent occurrence. Here are some of the offenses: evading conscription, the so-called bullying that is nonregulation behavior by the servicemen; we, of course, find it very alarming and disturbing.

[Fedorov] The military procurators, the military procurator's offices have been recently endowed with great rights.

[Katusev] Undoubtedly. In the past to make a serviceman answer under the Criminal Code for military offense, we had to obtain permission from the commanders of all ranks including the defense minister, but last April we were made independent. By this, I do not mean to say that we will stop consulting both the commanders and the political bodies; on the contrary, we should step up education work in that field.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Filippovich, bullying is a shameful thing for our troops, but unfortunately it is one of today's realities. A great deal has been said about it both at the congress and in the newspapers, magazines, on radio and TV. It is time that we put an end to that phenomenon which involves one man humiliating another, simply because he has been in the forces for a longer time. In your capacity as the chief military procurator, how are you going to restore order there?

[Katusev] In order to bring an end to the shameful thing, we should, after all, bear in mind the particular reasons which gave rise to it. Unfortunately, to listen to some comrades, bullying is a product of the Armed Forces. That is not so. Yes, indeed such a shameful phenomenon exists in the Army, but it is the education in school, above all in vocational schools, which is its precursor. Unfortunately, a great number of conscripts with a history of convictions enter the Army, and those traditions of the criminal world are introduced by them into the Armed Forces. Naturally, there are omissions of educational nature in the Armed Forces too, therefore, we should join forces to combat it with political bodies, party organizations, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, law enforcement bodies both in the Armed Forces and those dealing with the future conscripts.

[Federov] What can you say about the fact, described in press reports, that some soldiers, noncommissioned, and commissioned officers have sold their uniforms, even combat weapons? There are so many weapons in the hands of the population at the moment, things have gone really far, above all, in the Transcaucasian republics which at the present are the site of sad events and where an enormous amount of weapons is being confiscated, including Army weapons. They would sell anything up to anti-aircraft gun shells. Moreover, there are instances of the attitudes to weapons which are difficult to describe in any other way than irresponsible and slack, when weapons are stolen virtually from under the sentry's nose.

[Katusev] I have an unambiguous view on that: The sale of uniforms, or, even worse, weapons are service offenses. The military procurators and commanders in their capacity of investigatiing officers initiate criminal proceedings, and the offenders have to answer under the Criminal Code. As far as those who lose objects in their charge are concerned, it is also a service offense punishable under the Criminal Code.